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Ortelius' Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (1570-1641)

Characteristics and development of a sample of *on verso* map texts

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1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to this study

Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) represents a milestone in the history of cartography as the maker of the first atlas in the modern sense of the word. His *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, of which the first edition was published in Antwerp in 1570, was one of the most expensive books ever produced, but also a very popular work, which appeared in 35 editions in many languages, viz. Latin (13 editions), German (5 editions), French (5 editions), Spanish (5 editions), Dutch (4 editions), Italian (2 editions) and English (1 edition). The size of the atlas grew from 53 map sheets in 1570 to 166 map sheets in the later editions. Most of these editions, of which some 1400 copies are preserved in libraries and some 800 are estimated to be in private hands, are by no means rare, and most of the maps that were contained in them are in fact quite common. Loose copies of these maps derive from butchered atlases. The atlases and/or their maps have been researched intensively, (e.g. by Rooses, 1880, p. 350–356, Hessels, 1887, Wauwermans, 1901, p. 291–332, Denucé, 1912 Vol. I pp. 37–38, 168, 261, Vol. II, pp. 1–253, Brandmair, 1914, Bagrow, 1930, Koeman, 1964, 1969, p. 25–70, Meurer, 1991, Karrow, 1993, Van den Broecke, 1996, Van den Broecke, Van der Krogt & Meurer, 1998, Imhof, 1998c, p. 79–92, and Van der Krogt, 2003, vol. IIIA pp. 1–256, vol. IIIB p. 719–968). Of these authors some, such as Bagrow and Karrow terminate their field of research with the editions of 1598, when Ortelius died. All other researchers, for good reasons, have included all editions, the last of which may be dated 1641, and some maps even as late as 1664. Meurer, 1991, and Karrow, 1993, both concentrating on Ortelius' cartographic sources, are somewhat complementary and together provide a very reliable picture of Ortelius' cartographic sources.

Next to studies dealing with Ortelius' cartographic achievements, his artistic merits, based on decorative elements on his maps and their sources (Vuylsteke, 1984), his circle of friends, consisting of artists as well as scholars, has been explored (Meganck, 2003), and his travel book *Itinerarium* too (Schmidt-Ott, 1998, 2000). Ortelius' correspondence (though by no means all of it) has been published by Hessels, 1889, his *Album Amicorum* with some comments by Puraye & Delcourt, 1969, and a biography with heavy emphasis on his artistic friends by Binding, 2000. Further, some 300 articles have been published in historical cartography publications, plus some more books, see further our section *Selective Ortelius Bibliography* at the end of this study. This makes Ortelius one of the best if not the best studied early cartographer.

We do not intend to review this wealth of literature here, but we want to make a few remarks to explain what the present study tries to contribute to the knowledge about Ortelius and his cartographic work.

The earliest studies were attempts to establish which editions, in which language, with what map contents were published at what date. Later, particularly in Koeman, 1969, Vol. III, pp. 25–70,

a complete description not only of each edition but also of each map in each edition was attempted. My own research, presented in *Ortelius Atlas Maps*, 1996 resulted in finding some 30 map plates not noted previously as being different from those already described. The first exhaustive and fairly definitive list of editions and their contents (but not states) was written by Van der Krogt, 2003, vol. IIIAB, see above. These last two works will be our starting point.

Ortelius' *Theatrum* is generally considered the first modern atlas. Its maps, all in the same double folio format, form the body of the atlas, and the texts presented on the right half of the back side (*on verso*) of the map, sometimes on two halves (*on verso*) and in rarer cases of up to four text pages inserted into the atlas are presumably intended to be explanatory or at least illustrative for the maps. Cartographic publications prior to Ortelius contain cartographic material as illustrations of the text. Ortelius' *Theatrum* was the first publication in which the texts were intended as comments on the maps. This is the prime reason for saying that the *Theatrum* is the first modern atlas, see further Van der Krogt, 1998, p. 55-78.

Yet, the texts occurring in Ortelius' atlas, of which most but not all occur *on verso* of the maps, have not received attention.

The first text that was exhaustively analysed was the *Catalogus Auctorum*, a list of cartographers whose maps Ortelius used, with some information about each of them, which was included in all Latin editions of the atlas. This list grew from 87 cartographers in 1570 to 183 cartographers in 1601, and formed the basis for the studies about Ortelius' cartographic sources by Bagrow, Meurer and Karrow just mentioned. A history of the development of the *Catalogus* is given in Meurer, 1998, p. 391-408. Some cartographers and their maps are only known through this list.

The text which was written by Mekerius to explain the allegorical title page, included in all editions of the *Theatrum* has been translated and analysed by Waterschoot, 1979, p.43-68 and Shirley, 1998, p.161-170.

The letter written by Humphrey Lluyd called *De Mona Druidum*, about the Druids on the Isle of Man, which was included in all Latin editions, plus some others, was translated and analysed by Roberts, 1998, p. 347-362. These are all comments on texts occurring in the *Theatrum* which do not belong to those printed *on verso* of the maps.

There was one early attempt to obtain information from the texts which occur *on verso* of the atlas maps - most of which were written by Ortelius - namely by Brandmair, 1914. As the author states in his preface, p. iii (my translation from German) "We could argue that it is more a matter of the Dutch to concern themselves with their fellow country-man, but the work presented here should be considered as preliminary work, which establishes the starting point for further research [...] whereas the first part of this work deals with a discussion of the maps, the second part deals with those who constituted the geographical sources and who in the texts accompanying the maps have been cited extensively. They truly mirror the geographical activities of the 16th century". Of all sources mentioned in the map texts, Brandmair selected only those that he considered to be of a geographical nature and he ignored all historians not directly concerned with geography. Brandmair only consulted two or three German editions that

he could access easily, and the total number of sources mentioned by him hardly exceeds 200 names, whereas Ortelius in the collective *on verso* texts mentions more than 1300 sources. None of the texts themselves are presented by him. Therefore, I agree with Brandmair that his work may be a starting point, and not much more than just that.

Of course, any topic that has not been explored does not automatically deserve exploration. There must at least be a promise that such an exploration yields innovative results necessitating a review of what is known about that topic, or offers interesting new evidence.

The present study analyses a sample of ten map texts of which eight are 'modern' maps and two are 'classical' or *Parergon* maps, as they occur in successive editions of the *Theatrum*. These maps have been selected as a supposedly representative sample from the 226 maps occurring over all editions of the *Theatrum* fulfilling the condition that they should be included in numerous editions, so that the text has a chance of showing developments and that they occur in all 7 languages. The texts should not be too longⁱ, deal with an interesting area and contain lists of exonyms, defined as place names that assume a different form when used in a different language than that spoken in the place referred to. Such exonyms occur plentifully in the texts of the Low Countries (Ort58). Maps of provinces (in contrast to whole countries) have been avoided, because they often contain lengthy series of place names and information on agriculture and mining. Therefore, the selection of maps and their *on verso* texts is not quite random. Having translated all 226 map texts, it seems fair to say that the maps and their *on verso* texts selected for analysis are indeed representative of the more interesting *on verso* texts that Ortelius wrote for his atlas.

To perform the analysis just announced, we need access to these texts, which occur in maximally seven different languages and must therefore first be translated into modern English.

The reason why we select ten maps out of the 226 atlas maps rather than discussing all that have been identified is that the total corpus of map texts is so huge (about 6 million words) that the sheer size of this text corpus defies the kind of careful in-depth analysis that will be presented below.

The main hypothesis of this study is that knowledge and understanding of what has been written on the back side of a maps modifies the position of Ortelius as a major figure in the history of cartography in the second half of the 16th century, as contained in the literature just mentioned. Phrased differently:

What goals does Ortelius intend to reach with the texts he provides on verso of his atlas maps and to what extent were these goals innovations for the field of historical cartography?

The present position of Ortelius in the history of cartography may be summarised as follows:

Ortelius, maker of the first atlas in the modern sense of the word, was a cartographer who mainly compiled and edited the maps obtained from other cartographers. He was a successful

editor who had great commercial success with the atlas he conceived, and he inspired the Dutch cartographers who were to expand on his atlas in the course of the next century.

Why so far no text analysis has been performed² in spite of Ortelius' prominent position in the history of cartography may have various reasons. The first is that the study of historical cartography tends to focus on what is essential in cartography, namely maps. Any text occurring on the map might receive some attention, but any text on the other side of the map might not. Renaissance scholars of other than cartographic disciplines tend to ignore atlas texts, assuming them to be of a cartographic nature, and therefore outside their own field of interest.

As early as Skelton, 1968, a facsimile of the 1606 English version of the *Theatrum* was published. The English it contains resembles Shakespeare's first folio edition and is fairly easy to read, since English orthography hardly changed since the time before the Great Vowel Shift which occurred around the year 1400. Yet, no study is known which analyses map texts occurring in this easily accessible facsimile edition. Therefore, we must conclude that scholars in historical cartography as well as scholars in the history of books considered these texts to be outside their area of interest. The prime reason may be that maps, which are pictures, have a more immediate appeal than texts concerning these pictures. Of the approximately 1 million Ortelius atlas maps printed, about 5% were sold separately as loose maps without any text *on verso*. Conversely, not a single separate *on verso* text has been found without a map *on recto*. We will return to this issue in our final chapter.

Expanding our main hypothesis concerning possible innovations contained in Ortelius' *on verso* texts, we can formulate the following corollary questions:

1. What is the relation between texts occurring on each map we examine and the text printed *on verso* of that map? Do they refer to one another? Does the text *on verso* elaborate on some information given in writing on the map itself, or is there little or no relation between the texts on the map itself and the text *on verso*?
2. Is there just one text for each of the ten maps we will examine which on the whole is expected to expand in time, or are there different texts for the same map? To what extent is the language used for an edition a factor in this matter?
3. What is the nature of additions, changes, corrections and deletions in the map texts as used over successive editions?
4. To what extent do the different translations show transparency with respect to one another? Are the translations equivalent or do they show consistent differences from one language to another?
5. What are the bibliographical as well as cartographic sources mentioned in the selected *on verso* map texts, how frequently is each of them cited? Are these sources contemporary, medieval or from classical antiquity? What do we know about these sources and about Ortelius' attitude towards them? To what extent did Ortelius have the sources he mentioned in his own possession?
6. How do the analysed texts compare to those of contemporary and later cartographers such as de Jode, Bouguereau, Mercator, Hondius, Janssonius and Blaeu? Did these cartographers copy Ortelius' map texts to the same extent as they copied his maps, particularly the historical ones?

These questions lead to the following outline of the present study:

- Chapter 1 discusses the basic question what Ortelius intended to achieve by presenting texts *on verso* of his atlas maps.
- Chapter 2 contains an inventory and short discussion of 35 *Theatrum* editions plus *Additamenta* used for translating the selected map texts.
- Chapter 3 contains the translations of the texts of 10 maps selected from the 226 maps used in the *Theatrum*. The accuracy of the translations given can be checked by consulting the original texts of these 10 maps in all editions where they occur. These texts are all presented on the CD-ROM accompanying this study.
- Chapter 4 presents the texts that can be found on the maps themselves and subsequently discusses the relationship between texts on the maps themselves as compared to the texts *on verso*.
- Chapter 5 is a quantitative analysis of the modifications occurring in the map texts selected over time. This analysis is followed by a comparison of personal names of bibliographical sources, of geographical concepts and of content words to assess their mutual transparency across seven languages.
- Chapter 6 lists and discusses Ortelius' bibliographic sources, mostly as they appear in the map texts analyzed.
- Chapter 7 compares the content of Ortelius' map texts with those of contemporary map makers and some of their successors.
- Chapter 8 summarises our findings and presents conclusions about the nature of the innovations contained in Ortelius' *on verso* texts.
- Appendix 1 gives a summary of this study in English and in Dutch.
- Appendix 2 contains all references mentioned in this study.
- Appendix 3 contains a selective Ortelius bibliography of which Appendix 2 is a subset.
- Appendix 4 is a CD-ROM containing fairly high resolution photographs of Ortelius introduction to the reader, of the 10 maps themselves as discussed below, and photographs of all their text pages for each edition.

This concludes our introduction. We are fortunate in having an introduction which Ortelius wrote explaining what his views are on the relation between the maps in his atlas and the texts which he wrote *on verso* of these maps. This introduction will be presented now.

1.2 Ortelius' introduction to his atlas

One text which occurs in each edition is the introductory letter which Ortelius addresses to the 'benevolent' reader and viewer of his atlas. It is unfortunate that in discussions such as presented in Koeman, 1964, p. 11-21 and Meurer, 1991 p. 31-42, this letter has not been taken into consideration, because it sheds new light on the important issue to what extent Ortelius was an original cartographer, and to what extent merely a compiler and editor who used the work of others for his own advantage, albeit with frequent references to his sources. This letter occurs in two different forms, which hardly changed over the successive editions. The first version which is partly presented here, was included in all Latin editions and a few non-Latin ones, the second version did not take knowledge of Latin (or higher education) on the part of the

reader for granted, and was therefore written for the Dutch, German and French editions in these languages.

A translation of parts of this Address to the Reader from the 1570 Latin and the 1571 Dutch editions (see the electronic Appendix 4 where the originals are given) is presented here. Paragraph numbers have been inserted for easy reference. This text also serves to familiarise the reader with Ortelius' style of writing and, more importantly, with some of the intentions he tried to realise with the production of his atlas. We first present parts of his 1570 Latin address to the Reader (my translations from Latin and Dutch):

1. ABRAHAMVS ORTELIVS of Antwerp to the benevolent reader.
2. Seeing that I think that there is no one, gentle reader, who does not know what a great usefulness the knowledge of history brings, I do believe and persuade myself that there is no man, be it that he made only a casual contact with it, or ever touched it so lightly, who remains ignorant about how necessary some knowledge of geography is for a true understanding of history, which not without just cause is called the Eye of History³. For you will meet with many things in reading about history, (I will not say almost all) which, except if you have some knowledge about countries and places there, cannot be well understood, and often clear mistakes are being made, or histories are fully misunderstood. This happens in particular in expeditions and voyages of great kings and emperors, in the various migrations of peoples and in the travels and peregrinations of famous men from various regions.
3. But as experience itself teaches us, it is not necessary to find further proof of this statement. This knowledge of geography is required and, as many excellent and learned men testify, can very easily be obtained from geographical maps. And when we have acquainted ourselves somewhat with the use of these tables or maps, and have attained a reasonable knowledge of geography, then, whatever we read will be retained better in our memory when we have these maps, as it were as glasses, before our eyes, so that we seem to perceive with more success what we have read. I omit here that it seems to be much more pleasant while reading about history, when the map is then also presented to our eyes, so that we can see things that were done, and where they were done, as if they happened in the present.
4. For how much are we helped, when reading in the Holy Script about the journey of the Israelites from Egypt, through the Red Sea, and the great desert, to the Promised Land, when we inspect the map of Palestine, and see it happening as if we were present there⁴ [....].

It is clear from this opening statement that Ortelius does not consider himself a cartographer, but rather a historian. Cartography is simply a means to understand history better than could be achieved without having access to maps which depict the time and place where histories of interest to the reader have taken place. Let us see what Ortelius writes about the primacy of history in the vernacular version as contained in the 1571 Dutch edition of his address to the benevolent reader:

Abraham Ortelius totten goet-willigen Leser.

Hoe aenghenaem de kennisse der historien allen soorten van menschen is, (ende dat om den oorboor, ende gherief dat sy in alle handelen ende toevallen, die den menschen ghebeuren, biedende is) blijkt hier wte, dat de mensche ghebeuren(nae diuerscheyt der natueren, daer hy van der geboorten in ghe-aerdt is) elck schier tot eenighe bysondere exercitie oft Conste gheneghen is; als deen totter Consten van Grammatica, Rhetorica, Musica, de ander tot Arithmetica, Astronomia, Medecijnen, Rechten, Architectura, etc. d'ander tot Schilderen, eenighe tot Beeldt-snijden, sommighe tot Landt-bouwinge; ende soo voort, elck een tot eene bysondere; soomen dat clarlycken siet, dat schier elck, eene voor hem neemt als eyghen, ende die andere hem soe seere niet aen en treckt, als oft (nae sijn meyninge ten minsten) die soo nootelycken oft profytelycken niet en ware. Maer veel anders ist met de kennisse der Historien, daer van natueren elck (van wat conditien dat hy sijn mach) begheerte toe heeft; ende oock niet (nae ons duncken) sonder groote redene; om datse alle menschen aengaet. Want om de waerheyt te segghene, alsment te rechte in-siet, wat is des menschen leuen anders dan een Historie, die hy beghint, werckt, ende voleyndt binnen synen leuene! Alsook dat elck mensch sijn eyghene Historie schijnt te hebben. Daerom oock van natueren ontsteken wordt totter begheerten der wetenschap, wat anderen voor hem geschiet is, ende noch geschiet binnen synen tijde, ende wat nae hem geschieden sal.

In translation:

How pleasant the knowledge of histories is for all kinds of people, (and for honourability and pleasantness in all actions and happenings that it may offer to people) becomes apparent from this, that each person, (after the variety of his nature by birth) is attracted to a special vocation or art; one may be attracted to the art of grammar, rhetoric, music, the other to arithmetic, astronomy, medicine, law, architecture, the other to painting, or sculpture. Some may be attracted to agriculture and so on, each choosing his own particular predilection, so that it can clearly be seen that everyone identifies with something in particular for himself, whereas other subjects are not so attractive (at least in their own opinion) and not so useful or profitable. But as regards the knowledge of history, matters are different, because by nature, (whatever condition a person may be in) longs for it. And this (in our view) is not without reason, for (as we view it) it concerns everyone. To tell the truth, if you look at this truly, what else is a human life except history, which he begins, through which he works, and which he terminates at the end of his life! Equally, every human being seems to have his own history. Therefore, by nature, we light up to love of knowledge about what happened before our own lifetime, what happened during our own lifetime, and what will happen afterwards.

This text continues with the usefulness of maps as a mnemonic pictorial device to help understand history, as we saw in the scholarly version of this address. One thing is evident in this reasoning. People may have very different predilections as regards their callings in life, but in Ortelius' view, history is for everyone, it is the queen of scholarship, there is no escape from it, and everyone has therefore a natural interest in at least one's own history.

Continuing with the scholarly version of Ortelius address to the benevolent reader concerning the format of his atlas:

4. [...] Therefore, the maps help the student whose main interest lies in the study of history, who have what they intended to buy, or would willingly spend money on them, were it not that because of limited space, large charts cannot be opened and inspected easily because of their size. For to speak the truth, those large geographical maps and charts which are folded or rolled up are not so commodious, nor, when they are being read, are they easy to inspect. And whoever wants to hang them on a wall will not only need a very large house, but even a king's gallery or a theatre. Since I have often experienced this, I began to wonder whether it is possible to redress these inconveniences or possibly remove them altogether. And finally, it seemed that this might be accomplished by what we have done in this book of ours, which I earnestly wish that every student will include among his books.

This comment refers to the different sizes of maps contained in atlases assembled to order. Such atlases had been produced in Italy for quite some time. The reasons why a book like Ortelius' *Theatrum* was superior to atlases assembled to order are given in detail by Ortelius' old friend Joannes Radermacher in his letter of July 25, 1603 to Jacob Cool or Colius, Ortelius' nephew⁵. Radermacher claims most of the credit for devising a book with maps of uniform size covering the whole world, but Ortelius' text which is continued below refutes Radermacher's claim, since he speaks about the construction of his atlas in the first person.

6. [...] Of all countries which are presented here in our geographical maps, we have selected one (for of some various [different] ones are available). Apart from this, which you will often see, that what could hardly be read on the original copy, we have depicted on these maps of ours in such a way that this may be read with ease by anyone. And sometimes, when the occasion demanded it, and place was available, we have added the ancient names next to the modern and usual names of places. Which, as we do not doubt, we have done with the permission of the original makers of these maps themselves, for which we hope that the readers and students of ancient histories will not be ungrateful [...]

8. On those maps where we have mentioned the name of its original author, we have not, as we just said, altered anything at all, [...]

9. [...] But for other maps, which do not have the name of an author on them, we have been more audacious, for on these, at our discretion, we have altered some things, removed some matters in some places, and elsewhere, as we deemed necessary, we have inserted features. For some countries also, as far as we could, to make up the right number and fill up our ranks, we have made some maps of our own, so that as few maps as possible would be lacking. Those maps on which we have mentioned its author and which have been reduced, have been treated with faithfulness and diligence, so that we hope to deserve the gratitude of the reader as well as that of the author. Thus we have dealt with them in a way that nobody needs to be ashamed of what we present here, and the author may even want to have here in small format what he published before on a larger format.

Ortelius distinguishes three types of maps:

- (1) (§8 in text above) Those for which he specifies its author. For these maps, nothing has been altered except for lettering that was hard to read. Mistakes made by the original author on the map used by Ortelius have simply been included in uncorrected form. These maps show hardly any editing by Ortelius.
- (2) (§6 & §9) Maps for which Ortelius specifies no author usually combine data from different maps. Here, Ortelius made changes and additions at his own discretion and was clearly an active editor.
- (3) (not mentioned above but evident from atlas contents). Few 'modern', that is, contemporary maps and almost all *Parergon* maps. These were designed by Ortelius himself as he clearly states by putting his own name on the map itself. Sometimes, Ortelius also acknowledges his authorship of such maps in their text *on verso*.

Returning to Ortelius introductory Latin letter to the reader:

II. There may be some who will go searching in this Theatre of ours for a depiction of a specific region, (for everyone, because of the love he has for his own native soil, would wish that it is included among the rest), but they should know that those maps which are missing have not been left out by our negligence or because of the costs involved, but rather because we never saw such a map, or because no copy of it could be obtained by us. If there is anyone who either possesses such a map, or knows where it can be obtained, we earnestly entreat him to help us obtain it, promising that we will do this at our own expense, and we shall thank him and mention his name in an honourable manner, and we will have the map engraved and printed separately, so that it may be inserted in its proper place, or wherever else it is placed properly.

The observation that a native inhabitant is often the best source of knowledge and expertise about the place where he was born goes back to Plinius. Ortelius is an ardent supporter of this view, and as we shall see in detail, he uses the knowledge of natives from the area shown on a map whenever he can.

Now, what about the texts *on verso*?

14. So far for the maps themselves. Now we need to say something about the *versos* of the maps. Because we thought that it would not please the spectator or reader to see the *verso* of the map altogether bare and empty, we decided to write a short comment in a similar manner and order as the maps themselves, omitting or concealing nobody's name that we had the occasion to use when writing it.

This is a rather crucial fragment for the purpose of the present study. Let us therefore also have a look at the non-Latin version, which was intended for the less educated readers, viz. the text occurring in the introductory letter to the 'benevolent' reader in the 1571 Dutch edition.

37. The back sides of these maps, because it seemed to us unpleasant to have them poke at the nose of the reader all white and empty, we have for each of them (as far as we had any knowledge about them) written something which provides the reader with a point of rest or relaxation, (weary as he is from all this walking) to regain his breath before he continues his travelling.

These texts express a great modesty on the part of Ortelius, since he spent an enormous amount of time and effort to write and update the texts on the back side of each map. The text forms a moment of repose and relaxation for the armchair reader and traveller who did not use the atlas as a help during travels (for which it was not intended, and moreover unsuitable, since no roads are indicated on any map except for Ort21, Wales, and a few *Parergon* maps). The approach Ortelius uses is the same as on the maps themselves: text sources are mentioned in the map texts in the same manner as map sources are mentioned on maps. Returning to the Latin introduction:

15. Finally, we have also added a list with the names of all authors of maps that we were acquainted with or whose maps we possess, from which those who are disposed towards it may obtain more detailed knowledge about a specific country or region. Thus our students of geography shall here [in the texts] have in order, as well as in our Catalogue of geographical authors which we have inserted at the beginning of our book, and also on the maps themselves, a sort of shop, furnished with instruments with which, if something seems to be lacking in the maps or their texts, he may without any labour on his part find out where more information may be obtained.

This text only occurs in those editions which feature a *Catalogus Auctorum* listing all cartographic sources used, viz. all Latin editions, and the Spanish, English and Italian editions which were all translated from Latin. Ortelius was the first but also (almost) the only cartographer of his time to provide such a list, which makes him a true exponent of the Renaissance and an exceptional atlas maker. As noted, some authors mentioned in this *Catalogus* are only known through this list. It also provided an excellent starting point for researchers such as Bagrow, Meurer and Karrow to study Ortelius' cartographic sources.

Notes

- 1 Some *Parergon* texts with inserted extra text pages have more than 20,000 words of text, and part of the text of Ancient Germany (Ort199,200) has been published by Ortelius as a separate booklet.
- 2 Although this was true when I started translating Ortelius' map texts about 8 years ago, it is no longer true today. The map texts of Mercator's 1595 *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura* have been translated and reproduced electronically on CD-ROM by the American publisher Octavo (www.octavo.com) in 2000, and recently, all texts in Blaeu's *Latin atlas of Scotland* have appeared in translation on the website of the National Library of Scotland (www.nls.uk/digitallibrary/map/early/blaeu/index.html).
- 3 Note that on all 3 title pages which Ortelius made for the historical *Parergon* section of his atlas, the motto is: HISTORIAE OCVLVS GEOGRAPHIA, *Geography is the Eye of History*.

- 4 On the Palestine maps in the *Theatrum* (Orti 170, 171 & 172) the wanderings of the Israelites through the desert are indicated in terms of place and year.
- 5 Hessels, 1889, letter 330, pp. 772-779.



2 The corpus of map texts and their derivations from *Theatrum* editions

2.1 Editions

In order to compile the 10 map texts we are going to analyse, we used the editions as listed below in table 2.1. These editions do not quite coincide with those presented by Van der Krogt, 2003, vol. IIIA, because we intend to primarily concentrate on the map texts. Thus, the 1609, 1612 and 1641 Spanish editions, the 1608 and 1612 Italian editions, and the 1609 and 1612 Latin editions, discussed separately by Van der Krogt, mostly differ from one another in the date mentioned on the title page. Most of the maps and all their texts and typesetting are identical, and derive from the same print run. The same is approximately true for the 1580 German and the 1589 German editions. On the other hand, the 1573 Latin edition which is usually considered one edition, comes in two versions as regards its texts, and the same is true for the 1579 Latin edition. With these limitations in mind, our corpus consists of map texts of the following editions:

The first column of table 2.1. indicates the editions in which Ortelius' atlas was published by year and language. This suggests that all copies from one and the same edition are identical. However, due to the manual nature of the procedure leading to the production of each individual copy of an atlas of a certain edition, this turns out not to be the case. Left-over maps from previous editions were used in later editions, paper being expensive. This results in variability among atlas copies of the same edition. When we inspect Van der Krogt's 2003 specification of each edition, we see this variability reflected in his descriptions. I venture to claim that no two copies from one edition of Ortelius' atlas are exactly the same in all respects, (see further Van den Broecke 1994, p. 103-110, 1995, p. 2-8). The second column specifies the number of map sheets per edition.

The next column is the number of copies printed. We have 29 regular editions totalling about 8175 atlases, 1 *Parergon* edition of 1000 copies and 12 *Additamenta* of in total 850 copies. These numbers are considerably higher than those calculated in Van den Broecke, 1986, p. 2-15, which estimated 7300 copies of regular atlases, 750 *Additamenta* copies and 600 *Parergon* copies. How can these differences be explained? The calculations made in 1986 were based on data from the Plantin archives on the amount of paper used for two editions, viz. the 1570 Latin edition in 3 versions of in total 23,500 sheets leading to 325 copies and of the 1579 Latin edition with 500 copies. Of these two editions Plantin sold about half the number of copies printed. Assuming that this was also the case for the editions about which we do not know how many sheets of paper were required, this yielded a total of about 7300 copies of atlases. Meanwhile, research by Imhof (1998a, p. 79-92, 1998b, p. 193-206, 1998c, p.1-152) in the Plantin archives, using the same approach but consulting many additional sources, has shown that the figures we estimated on the basis of Plantin's sales need revision. Plantin in fact turned out to have sold less than half

Table 2.1 Survey of atlas editions used for translation of their map texts.

Edition	Number of map sheets	Estimated number of copies printed	Copy used for translation	Van der Krogt number AN	Number of versions of edition
1570 Latin version A	53	125	Amsterdam University Lib. OF72-30; own possession.	31:001A	3
1570 Latin version B	53	100	Amsterdam University Lib. 1802 A 14	31:001B	
1570 Latin version C	53	100	Leiden University Lib. II Coll. BN 43	31:001C	
1571 Latin	53	275	Amsterdam University Lib. 1802 A3	31:002	1
1571 Dutch	53	275	Own possession.	31:101	1
1572 German	53	150	Auction Hartung, Munich	31:201	1
1572 French	53	150	Municipal library Nurnberg Math 690.2	31:301	1
1573 German first Additament.	16	50	Royal Library Brussels LP 3010C	31:210	1
1573 Latin first Additamentum	18	100	Plantin Moretus Antwerp R 39.9	31:010	1
1573 German	69	75	Amsterdam University Lib. OF72-29	31:211	1
1573 Latin (A,B)	70	80	Amsterdam Maritime Museum Amsterdam A-III-14 (version A); own possession (version B)	31:011	2
1573 Dutch first Additamentum	16	75	Own possession	31:110	1
1573 Dutch	69	75	Own possession	31:111	1
1574 French first Additamentum	16	50	Municipal Library Nurnberg Math 690.2	31:310	1
1574 French	69	75	Municipal Library Nurnberg Math.690.2	31:311	1
1574 Latin	70	175	Plantin Moretus Antwerp A 943	31:012	1
1575 Latin	70	100	Own possession	31:013	1
1579 Latin 2 nd Additamentum	23	250	Plantin Moretus Antwerp A 943	31:020AB	1
1579 Latin version A	93	250	Own possession	31:021	2
1579 Latin version B		250	Own possession	31:022	
1580 German 2 nd Additamentum	23	50	Own possession	31:220	1
1580/1589 German	93	350	Own possession	31:221 31:222	2
1581 French	93	400	Godts auction Brussels	31:321	1
1584 Latin 3 rd Additamentum	24	100	Plantin Moretus Antwerp A 943	31:031	1
1584 Latin	112	750	Amsterdam Maritime Museum A-III-19	31:031	1
1584 German 3 rd Additamentum	24	75	Own possession	31:230	1

Edition	Number of map sheets	Estimated number of copies printed	Copy used for translation	Van der Krogt number AN	Number of versions of edition
1585 French 3 rd Additamentum	24	75	British Library C.2.c.16 London	31:330	1
1587 French	112	250	Amsterdam Maritime Museum A-III-23	31:331AB	1
1588 Spanish	100	300	Rotterdam Maritime Museum WAE52	31:431	1
1590 Latin 4 th Additamentum	22	100	Rotterdam Maritime Museum WAE7	31:040	1
1591 German 4 th Additamentum	22	75	Own possession	31:240	1
1592 Latin	134	525	Amsterdam Maritime Museum A-III-24	31:041	1
1595 Latin 5 th Additamentum	17	100	Amsterdam University Lib. 190 A 17	31:050	1
1595 Latin	147	500	Amsterdam University Lib. 1802 A 6	31:051	1
1597 German 5 th Additamentum	17	75	Own possession	31:250	1
1598 French	119	525	Amsterdam University Lib. 1803 A1	31:351	1
1598/1610/1613 Dutch	91	100	Own possession	31:121 31:122	3
1601 Latin	154	200	Antwerp UFSIA	31:052	1
1602 German	151	250	Groningen University Lib. uklu backer I	31:251	1
1602 Spanish	117	250	Amsterdam University Lib. OF-84-6	31:451AB	1
1603 Latin	156	300	Amsterdam University Lib. OF72-23	31:053	1
1606 English	161	300	Facs. TOT	31:551	1
1608/1612 Italian	166	300	The Hague Royal Lib. 223A35/36	31:651	2
1609/1612/1641 Spanish	128	325	Plantin Moretus Antwerp A 935, R. 39.8; Antwerp Municipal Library; Newberry Lib. Chicago	31:452 31:453	3
1609/1612 Latin	166	300	Own possession	31:054 31:055AB	2
1624 Latin <i>Parergon</i>	44	1000	Amsterdam University Lib. 1803 A11; own possession	31:711	1

of the editions for which we know the paper requirements, which leads to a higher number of copies printed for most editions, resulting in a total number of about 8175 copies for those maps that appeared in all editions.

As regards the survival rate of atlases and loose maps, we see a similar picture. The survey done by Van der Krogt as a preliminary inventory for writing his *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici* (Volume IIIAB) yielded about 1400 *Theatrum* copies, whereas Koeman, 1969, vol.III p. 25-70 reports only

some 450. Together with my own estimate of private and dealer holdings of *Theatrum* copies of about 800 copies, the total number of copies in existence is about 2200. There are about as many loose maps in existence in public or private possession as there are in atlases. These loose maps, as noted before, mostly derive from butchered atlases. Thus, altogether more than half of all Ortelius maps printed (about 1 million copies) have survived, half of these still contained in atlases¹, the other half in loose form.

The fourth column mentions the copy I used for translation. In most cases this is a library reference indicating which atlas was photographed where. In some cases I was able to photograph an edition before it was being auctioned. Own possession indicates that this atlas is or was for some time in my personal possession. The remaining columns are self-evident, except that the 1570 Latin atlas appeared in 3 forms which differ in text, including map texts. In fact these three versions together with the 1571 Latin edition form a sequence of 4 closely related atlases, but (as demonstrated in Van der Krogt, 2003 Vol. IIIA p. 45-63), there is great variability among copies of these four editions.

2.2 Types of text and Ortelius' knowledge of languages²

For almost every map we are going to examine, there turn out to be at least two text versions, depending on the language in which an edition including this map was prepared. The Latin editions, and the translations from Latin in the Spanish, the Italian and the English editions have one version which might be named scholarly because the knowledge of Latin required to read these texts is a fair guarantee that the reader has received secondary education, usually followed by a study at a university, in which Latin featured prominently and which usually included ancient Greek as well. As noted, the Spanish and Italian editions were translated fairly closely from their Latin examples and their map texts are therefore also of the scholarly type. The Dutch, German and French editions were aimed at a less educated public, and for this reason they have texts which are clearly different from the scholarly ones. They might best be called vernacular texts. Ortelius received his first instruction in Latin and Greek around the age of 13 from his uncle Jacobus van Meteren since his father, an antique dealer, died when Ortelius (then calling himself Abraham Ortels) was 11 years old. But most of his knowledge of Latin, Greek and other languages was acquired through self-study. The fact that most of the correspondence between Ortelius and his nephew Jacob Cools was conducted in Latin shows that writing and even speaking Latin was a natural way to communicate with each other to both of them. Of all 29 letters contained in Hessels, 1889, written by Ortelius, 18 are in Latin and 11 in Dutch. Of all letters addressed to Ortelius, 232 are in Latin, 18 in Dutch, 11 in French, 2 in German, 1 in Italian and 1 in Portuguese. Looking at his *Album Amicorum* Puraye and Delcourt, 1969, containing laudatory poems, remarks, drawings etc., 136 texts are in Latin, 20 in Greek, 11 in Dutch, 4 partly or fully in Hebrew, 3 in French, 2 in German and 1 in Italian. Most texts contain more than one language. This seems to indicate that Ortelius had a reading knowledge of all these languages, although we should not forget that many people who wrote in Ortelius' *Album Amicorum* aimed at personal glory rather than at praise for Ortelius. There are frequent references by Ortelius to books published in Spanish or Italian only, which were never translated into Latin. This means that Ortelius had a reading knowledge of Spanish and Italian. From all this it is very clear that

Ortelius, next to his mother tongue Dutch, had mastered Latin, Greek, French, German, a fair amount of Spanish, a fair amount of Italian which he has undoubtedly practiced during his travels to Italy and finally some Hebrew. His journeys on foot to the Frankfurt book fair must have given him ample opportunity to acquire German and keep it in good shape, at least in spoken form. The language he mostly used with his good friend Christophe Plantin was French, and Antwerp was fairly bilingual at the time.

We have ample evidence that Ortelius himself wrote the scholarly Latin map texts as well as the vernacular texts in Dutch and French³. In the French editions, the number names 'septante, octante, nonante' are used consistently. This form was and is typical of the Southern Low Countries (as well as French Switzerland). It is tempting to assume that Ortelius wrote the German map texts as well, but although he must have been fluent in German, this is no guarantee that he could write it too⁴. However, we do not have evidence indicating which translator wrote the German translations, as we do for the Spanish, Italian and English editions. The texts in the three languages just mentioned are all by definition scholarly, since they were translated from Latin examples by respectively Balthasar Vincentius of Louvain⁵, Filippo Pigafetta, and William Bedwell. Except for some parts of the English and Italian editions, they follow the original Latin very closely. Bedwell's translation was more than just that. As a scholar in oriental languages he commented on Ortelius' text, expanded it significantly, and for some maps wrote entirely new texts. We will return to this topic in Chapter 5. The Italian edition, translated by Pigafetta, also contains some personal comments by the translator, particularly when dealing with Italian maps and with the Pacific map. The Spanish editions do not contain *Parergon* maps except for the 1609/1612/1641 edition (in which the *Parergon* maps have the exact Latin texts and also the same typesetting as the 1609-1612 Latin edition has), but the English and Italian editions have the *Parergon* map texts in their translated form.

Why do we find scholarly as well as vernacular texts? Because Ortelius had two different types of users in mind for his atlas. As he notes in his introductory letter in the 1571 Dutch edition to the benevolent Reader:

38. [...] The register with the ancient and modern names of cities and lands which can be seen in our Latin Theatre we have omitted here, since we do not consider it necessary or profitable for the Dutch reader. Farewell and use our work.

This is an oblique way of stating that the Dutch reader did not need a list of Latin and modern place names (the so-called *Synonymia Locorum*) and would not profit from it because he was assumed to be unable to read Latin. Most probably, such a reader was not interested in the classical literature to the extent that the educated reader was. Yet, the reader might have an interest in geography and history and also be able to afford the *Theatrum*, though it has always been an expensive book⁶. Thus, the Dutch, French and German editions aimed at people without a university education, but sufficiently affluent to afford this atlas, such as merchants, high ranking civil servants and dignitaries. The texts were adapted to cater for the tastes of these readers, which were quite different from those of the scholars. What the vernacular readers were looking for was not so much quotes and reports from the classical authors as found plentifully in the scholarly editions, but rather tales of human interest, amusement, wonders and miracles.

Such different requirements prompted Ortelius to write different texts, each version meeting the expectations of the intended readers. Regarded from this point of view, Ortelius was the first to make scholarly works accessible to a larger public, see further chapter 5. To illustrate our remarks about vernacular texts with a high ‘human interest’ component, see what Ortelius says in e.g. the vernacular texts on Switzerland, (Ort 115.16).

16. The entire scenery consists of mountains and valleys, in which valleys there are numerous lakes or seas, very pleasant to see because of their clarity since you look into them like into a mirror. Thus we have watched with no less wonder than pleasure what pebbles there were on the bottom, and watching how the small fish spent their time swimming in those depths, they impelled me to join them, were it not that I was worried about drowning in such a case.

2.3 Individual maps and their texts

Now that we have dealt with the atlas editions used to translate the map texts, we will have a closer look at the individual map texts for each of the ten maps analysed, and introduce conventions that have been used for their translation. The 10 map texts we have decided to analyse are presented in Table 2.2.

The first column gives the identity per map (my Ort number).

The second column specifies the title of the map as it occurs in Latin editions, sometimes abbreviated.

The third column gives the period of usage and the number of atlas editions in which each map occurs. There is more variability in this respect than is suggested by the table presented

Table 2.2 Inventory of 10 selected atlas maps occurring over all editions with period of their usage, number of editions in which each map is included and number of text templates (about which more below) for each map.

Map number	Name of map	Period of usage	Number of editions	Number of text templates	Approx.number of copies printed
8	Africa	1570-1641	30	2	8175
18	Scotland	1573-1641	23	2	7300
58	Germania Inferior	1570-1606	25	2	7250
129	Lacus Comensis, olim Larius; Urbis Romae Terretorivm	1570-1641	30	2	8175
150	Hvngaria	1570-1641	30	2	8175
160	Scandia, siue Regiones Septemtrionales	1570-1641	30	2	8175
162	Russia aut potius Magni Ducis Moscoviae Imp.	1570-1641	30	2	8175
166	India	1570-1641	30	2	8175
211	Sicilia sive Trinacria	1584-1641	17	1	5450
215	Graecia sive Hellas	1579-1641	21	1	7275

here. A specific map may not always occur in all editions mentioned in the present table, due to variability among various copies of the same edition of the atlas.

The number of atlas editions in which a map and its text occurred indicates how many texts had to be translated for each map. This was counteracted by the fact that a plate change for a map of the same area usually did not result in a text change. Note that if Vrients introduced a new map covering the same area as a previous map by Ortelius had done (as is the case for *Germania Inferior*), he usually took over the text that Ortelius had written for this area. Thus the *Germania Inferior* text had a longer life than table 2.2. suggests.

2.4 Translation procedure

The one but last column of table 2.2 refers to the number of text templates. The term text template needs some explanation.

A simple and straightforward way to obtain our translated texts would have been to translate all texts of all editions, and to group all translations for one map occurring in different editions one after the other for purposes of comparison. For long-lived plates this would have resulted in 30 texts for one map. Apart from the fact that this procedure would have yielded a very large corpus⁷, this corpus would also be highly repetitive for maps where the text changes little over successive editions. On top of that, it would not be easy for the reader to compare a text belonging to a certain map among different editions and to perceive text developments.

Therefore, it has been attempted to compress texts of each map occurring over various editions into one text. The assumption in this process is that any edition for each map contains the same text as a previous edition did, plus perhaps some additional text. This addition is indicated as {year and language of new edition{text that is being added in the new edition}year and language of new edition}, where after the year of the edition at issue there is the postscript L= Latin, D= Dutch, G= German, F= French, S= Spanish, I= Italian and E= English identifying the edition. In shorthand this looks for instance like {1571L{new text}1571L}, indicating which new text was added in the 1571 Latin edition, as compared to the 1570 Latin edition. If the assumption is wrong that each later edition includes all text of an earlier one, this is indicated as: {1570L but not in 1606E{piece of text}1570L but not in 1606E}. This notation does not contain spaces except for {not in...edition{, or {edition ...only{ and correspondingly }not in ... edition} or }edition ... only}.

Instead of simply adding new pieces of map text in successive editions, there may also be additions which occur in the map text of one edition only, which is not continued in the next edition. This is indicated as {1571L only{new text}1571L only}. If a text occurs in some editions spread over time, but not in others, also spread over time, this is indicated as {1571L, 1573L & 1595L only{piece of text}1571L, 1573L & 1595L only}.

We notice that confusions or mistakes often occur in texts when we compare a map text in one edition with that in the next, particularly when dealing with numbers. Take for example: {1570L{There were 35,000 {1572G has instead{35}1572G instead}captives in his company}1570L}.

This notation indicates that instead of the number 35,000 which occurs in all editions from 1570 Latin onwards, the 1572 German edition is exceptional in being the only one which has the number 35 rather than 35,000.

In the translated texts, all new text contributions in each subsequent edition have been indicated by curly brackets mentioning the edition at issue, as just explained.

Using these notational conventions, it turned out to be possible to compress the texts of the same map from numerous editions including all their changes over time into one text per map. This collection of texts compressed into one complex text each is called a template. The two *Parergon* maps of our choice have only one template since they do not occur in the vernacular editions. The other eight map texts need two templates, one representing the scholarly version, the other representing the vernacular version. Each of these templates provides insight in text development and clustering behaviour of texts around editions in the same language. The price paid is a reduction of readability of the text.

Texts of each 'modern' (i.e. non-*Parergon*) map required two different text templates. Latin editions, together with Spanish, Italian and English, which were fairly faithful translations from their Latin example form one template. Ortelius apparently did not seem to feel the need of composing 'vernacular' texts for the Spanish editions, nor did Vrients consider this need to be present for the English and Italian editions made when he was the publisher of the *Theatrum*. We call these editions 'scholarly'. The Dutch, French and German editions clustered in a different template which we call 'vernacular'. There are sub-clusters, for instance a piece of text occurring in all Spanish or all French editions only, but these usually did not require a new template, as they could be accommodated into an existing one.

It is no surprise that the *Parergon* maps which are by definition aimed at the educated reader needed one text template only. Although our focus is on texts, it is repeated here that most of the *Parergon* maps, just like their texts, were designed by Ortelius himself, though usually on the basis of earlier sources, as is clearly stated in some of these texts, e.g. in the map text of the Graecia Major map (Ort 210):

210.16. But of the nature, situation, proper qualities and antiquities of this province I will not speak another word, because that is most exactly and learnedly done by two men both born here, who therefore knew it well before I began to set pen to paper to draw this map of mine [...]

It will be noted that the two *Parergon* maps analysed contain more text than most of the eight 'modern' ones, and also show more development over time. These texts, enlarging on the 'eye of history' which the maps they belonged to represent, were close to Ortelius' heart. The font size of the *Parergon* texts became smaller and smaller in subsequent editions, to allow for more text, until at last extra text pages, up to six folio sheets, were inserted to meet Ortelius' needs.

In the course of making translations from Latin pieces of text, particularly if no version in a different language was available, and also for some Italian text fragments, I obtained professional help (see further acknowledgements).

Concerning the style and tone of voice used in the translation into modern English, I have attempted to retain a somewhat archaic flavour, as these texts are more than 400 years old, but on the other hand, I have tried to maintain accessibility by avoiding the use of obtuse terminology or to explain unfamiliar words by means of [square brackets].

Insertions by means of square brackets have also been made to enhance the grammaticality of the text, or simply to make the text more comprehensible. In some cases I could not resist the temptation of giving a short comment on the text at issue.

2.5 Textual developments after Ortelius' death

The first edition which appeared after Ortelius' death in 1598 viz. the 1601 Latin edition shows that there was still quite some material, both in terms of maps and texts, that could be incorporated in a subsequent edition. But the texts did not expand any further after that, and the few maps introduced by Vrients for which he also wrote new texts, are written in an entirely different manner. They lack the multitude of bibliographical and cartographical references that are Ortelius' trademark and show less interest in the history of the areas depicted. Whenever Vrients could use an existing text, written by Ortelius, he did use it, as in the *Inferioris Germaniae Provinciarum nova Descriptio* (Ort 59), an entirely new map for which the old text of map no. Ort 58 (*Germania Inferioris*) was used, as noted before. Pigafetta's translation of the *Theatrum* into Italian was initiated by Pigafetta as early as 1591⁸, but was not implemented during Ortelius' lifetime. It appeared in 1608 and is a fairly straightforward translation of the 1595 and/or 1601 Latin edition. Pigafetta, a close friend of Ortelius, adds quite a few comments to the text, particularly for the Pacific map since his father was a navigator on Magalhães' first circumnavigation of the world in 1519/1522. Predictably, map texts on Italy received numerous additions, Pigafetta being an Italian; see further Chapter 5.

The Latin editions just mentioned were also the source for the texts in the 1606 English edition, of which the maps were most probably printed in Antwerp as early as 1602. The texts were later printed by Norton in London, but open spaces where Arabic should have been inserted show that Norton's printing capacities were not as advanced as those in Plantin's printing office. Also, illustrations in the text of *Parergon* maps, consisting of woodcuts with Roman coins which invariably illustrated their discussion in the texts, are lacking in the English edition, presumably because the woodblocks needed to print them remained in Antwerp. On the other hand, the English edition shows some Hebrew lettering, which is not the case for any other edition. What makes the English edition exceptional is that its translator considered it his duty not only to translate, but also to give his own comments, particularly for map texts dealing with areas in the Middle East and North Africa. Bedwell, the translator, being an orientalist, was clearly knowledgeable about the languages and the history of that area.

2.6 Textual similarity between the various editions and Additamenta

We have now established that texts for the same map plate may belong to different templates, depending on the language of the edition. Bearing in mind that Ortelius wrote all texts for the Latin, Dutch and French editions and had these translated for German editions, and that the Spanish (and after Ortelius' decease) the English and Italian editions were translated from previous Latin editions, it is now possible to draw a figure on a provisional basis which may need further adaptation, outlining the interrelatedness of the texts of the various editions. In

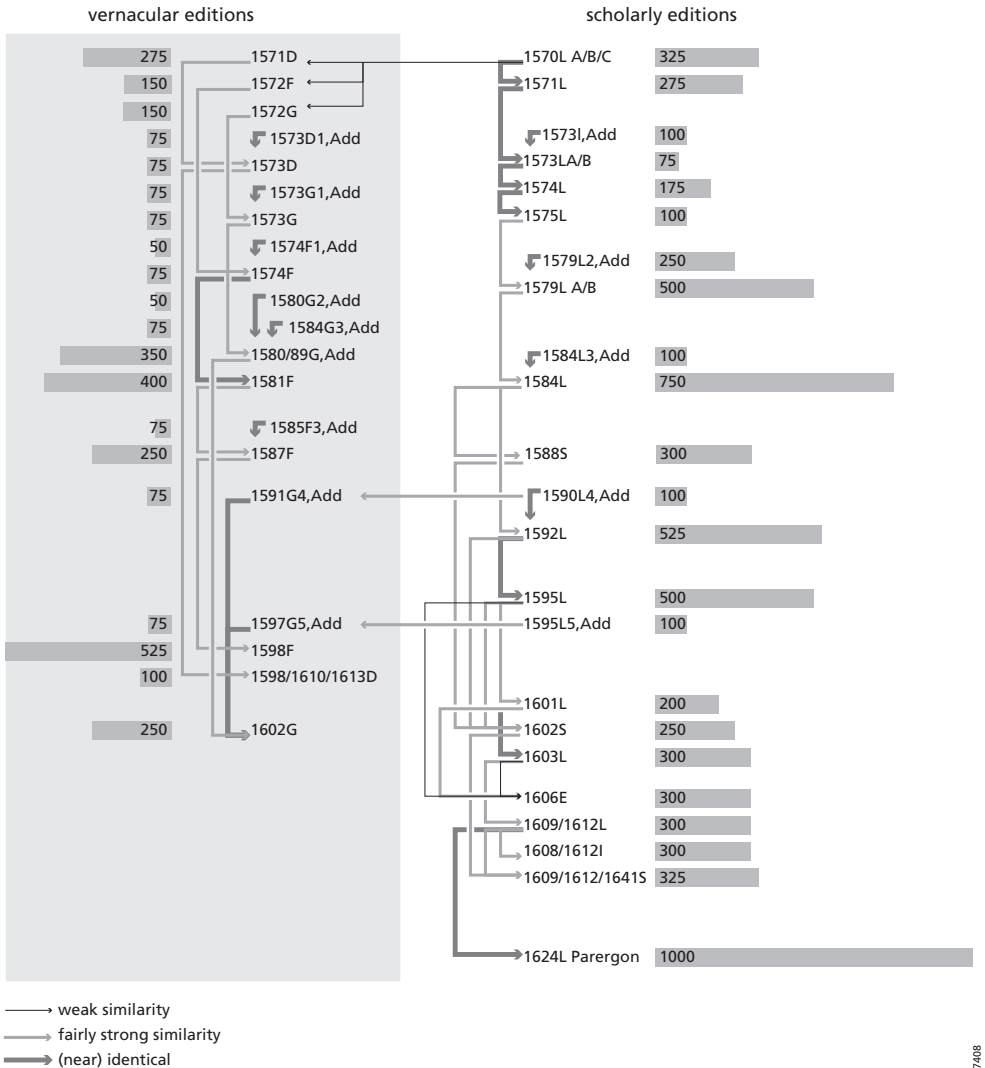


Figure 2.1 Relatedness of text and number of copies printed for all atlas editions and additamenta. The vertical axis represents time, bar-length indicates number of copies printed.

this figure we indicate weak similarity, fairly strong similarity and identical or near identical editions between editions. A bar in figure 2.1 representing an edition or additamentum is roughly proportional in size to the number of copies printed, as specified in each bar. The vertical axis represents the time dimension from 1570 to 1641. Figure 2.1. illustrates the relationship of the texts of the various editions and shows that two clusters of texts may be distinguished, which have been separated by a shaded vs. an unshaded area roughly in the vertical direction, distinguishing two groups of editions: one comprising all the Latin editions including those that were translated from the Latin editions, viz. the Spanish, Italian and English editions as one group, and the Dutch, French, and German editions as a different group. This second group, as noted, has mostly different text templates, demonstrating that this group of editions contained texts written with a different reader in mind, namely a reader that was unable to read Latin and presumably as a consequence was less interested in quotations and references from classical literature. Obviously, both in number of editions and in number of copies printed for each edition, the emphasis of the *Theatrum* was on the Latin editions. These atlases found its buyers and readers throughout its publishing history mostly among scholars well-versed in Latin.

2.7 Edition identification for loose maps

As noted before, many copies of the *Theatrum*, viz. about half of the circa 4000 surviving copies, have been broken up in the course of time, so that these copies now exist as loose sheets. For collectors and librarians dealing with such loose maps, the text turns out to be much more helpful in determining the edition from which these loose maps derive than the map image is, particularly if the map plate from which the map has been printed shows few different states over its period of usage. In contrast to this, the typesetting for each map text was broken up immediately after usage and was reset for each new edition, regardless whether the contents of the text changed or not. Thus, in terms of its text, each map text for each new edition represents a new ‘text state’.

About 5% of all loose maps have no text at all, but were apparently sold as separate sheets, as noted above. For these few maps, plate states are the only help for (approximately) determining the edition from which such a map derives. But for the large majority of maps, the text is an obvious but so far largely unused help to determine the edition from which it comes. Type of language, page number and title text lines are the standard features given in a few publications for this purpose, but language, title and page number are often not sufficient to disambiguate between editions. This is notably true for the first five maps in each *Theatrum* atlas, viz. the world map and the four continents, which always have page numbers 1 to 5, except for a change in 1579, when the Americas map switched places with the Europe map. Thus, the Americas was the second map of the *Theatrum* from 1570-1579⁹ and the fifth afterwards, and the Europe map was the second map of the *Theatrum* after 1579 and the fifth before that.

To characterise my procedure, the presentation of characteristics per edition is of a diplomatic, rather than of a critical nature. To disambiguate between texts of different editions which closely resemble each other, the entire last line of each map will be given for each edition in the next chapter. We will also indicate whether the lay-out of this last line is centred, or left-aligned, or

in two columns, in cursive font or not, or in Gothic font. Then follows an indication how many lines above this last line were centred as well, or left-aligned (typical of later editions), or full width (also mostly later editions) or in two columns (typical for the 1624 *Parergon* only and for later map-makers). Spaces between words and punctuation marks have been preserved in these descriptions. If this information was insufficient to disambiguate texts from different editions resembling each other very closely, additional differences were searched for. Such a difference might for instance be the usage of space between words and punctuation marks anywhere else above the last line, all the way to the first line, i.e. the title of the text. The usage of full stops after the map title also proved to be useful. These full stops or dots turned out not only to be round, but also three-cornered, diamond shaped etc, pointing to different editions or, as it turned out, to different text versions within one edition.

The exact location of the page number with respect to the rest of the text also proved to be informative. In just about all cases it was possible to give a unique identification or fingerprint for each text which identifies it as coming from the atlas edition that was broken at some point in history.

Remaining puzzles about unique marks for each new typesetting of a text mostly concern old left-over sheets which were used for an edition to which in fact these sheets did not belong. If an atlas containing such maps (and most atlases have at least a single example) is broken, the loose map from an old pile left over from a previous edition will (correctly) be attributed to that edition, even though in fact it derives from a hybrid atlas assembled at a later date.

Altogether, the specification given for each map does not only state in which atlas edition a particular map sheet was included, but also gives sufficient additional information about its unique text characteristics for dating a loose map sheet by determining from which edition it comes.

What remains problematic is the occurrence of maps for which a second version of the text was set within one and the same edition. Given the manual nature of book production, it happened more often than not that not all sheets were printed in the same number of copies. When the printer/publisher started to assemble a book, or in our case an atlas, using all the sheets printed, it could happen that he turned out to fall, say, three map sheets short of the Northern Regions map (Ort160), so that three atlas books were in danger of being incomplete. Rather than throwing three incomplete atlases away, it was understandably preferred to reset the text and print these three final sheets to complete the three remaining piles. Such late text versions of an edition always differ from the early version of that edition, but it may be very hard to locate these differences, given the high probability that the typesetter had been instructed to typeset the text in a way identical to his example. An example of this is the Northern Regions map (Ort 160) in the 1573 Latin edition, which was considered to occur in one version only. Yet, the typesetting of Ort 160 in the University Library Amsterdam version and the Maritime Museum Rotterdam version differ in the full stop after the title of this map and in nothing else, one being a round dot, whereas the other has a four-cornered diamond shape. This can only be attributed to the resetting of the text for the purpose just explained.

As stated above, all texts of the ten maps we are going to analyse in all editions have been included in our digital Appendix 4, so that the translations given can be checked.

Notes

- 1 About atlases being butchered and restored, and the factors influencing this process, see Van den Broecke, 1999.
- 2 An earlier version of this section has been published as: Van den Broecke, M, 2008. The Significance of Language: Maps in Ortelius *Theatrum orbis terrarum. Imago Mundi* Vol. 60:2 pp. 192-200.
- 3 Wauwermans, 1901, p. 291-332, agrees that Ortelius had a talent for languages and says he was fluent in Spanish, but knew little Greek. The omnipresence of Greek in the *Album Amicorum*, some Greek fragments in *Parergon* map texts and in the introductory pages and *Nomenclator* of the Latin *Theatrum* editions is in sharp contrast with this opinion.
- 4 I am grateful to Peter Meurer (personal communication) who at my request looked at a number of map texts from the 1580/1589 German edition and notes that the texts contain no grammatical mistakes in terms of declinations of articles and nouns, and conjugations of verbs, these types of mistakes being a typical characteristic of most native speakers of Dutch who are fluent in spoken German. Moreover, these texts contain some mistakes (e.g. Frankfurt on the Oder having “Messen” twice a year) which Ortelius never would have made.
- 5 Vincentius was paid fl. 100 for this translation, which indicates that translators were not well paid.
- 6 see Koeman, 1964, in his booklet accompanying the first facsimile of the 1570 edition, called *The history of Abraham Ortelius and his Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. The 1570 edition (53 map sheets) cost 5.5 guilders to 7.5 guilders, depending on paper size, and 16 guilders if coloured. The 1595 Latin edition (147 map sheets) cost 23 guilders, the 1598 French edition (119 map sheets) cost 20 guilders, and coloured 40 guilders. A skilled workman, e.g. a typesetter in Plantin’s workshop around 1580 earned about 100 guilders per year, and a competent printer about 150 guilders. A bricklayer in Antwerp at this time earned about 140 guilders per year, see Clair, C. 1960. p. 219.
- 7 If we apply this procedure to all 226 maps occurring in the life time of the *Theatrum*, we obtain a translated text corpus of equal size as its original, about 6 million words or about 12000 standard A4 text pages.
- 8 Hessels, 1887, Letter nr. 200, pp. 481-483.
- 9 Paul Binding 2003, argues that Ortelius was fully aware of the future importance and dominance of America, and therefore presented its map as the first continent, right after the World map (cf. p. 239). However, he only considered *Theatrum* editions over the period 1570-1579. The fact that Ortelius demoted the Americas map to the 5th position after 1579 indicates that Binding’s reasoning is short-sighted and spurious.



3 The translations of 10 map texts from all editions in which they occur

3.1 Introduction

For each of the ten maps to be examined and translated we will provide additional information next to the *on verso* texts. To begin with, we will give the title of the map. Next, if applicable, we give text blocks on the map in their original form and in translation. Then, the text characteristics of the last line in each edition *on verso* as discussed in Chapter 2.7 is given, preserving original orthography. Then, some background information on each map and lists of the different states of the map will be provided. Then we refer to relevant literature. Thus the reader is familiarised with each map. The translation is then provided and followed by a list of carto-bibliographic sources and the date when each of these sources was introduced. The treatment of topographical names and personal names will be discussed in chapter 5.

The digital Appendix contains a high resolution photograph of each map, plus photographs of each text for each edition in which it occurs. These photographs are of varying quality, depending on the equipment available at the time and the circumstances under which the photographs were taken.

3.2.1 Ort8, Africa

Title: AFRICAM | GRÆCI | LIBYAM APP. | AFRI:|CÆ TA:|BVLA | NOVA. | EDITA
ANT:|VERPLÆ | 1570 (upper left) *Cum Priuilegio* [Libyan Africa of the Greeks, a new
map of Africa, published in Antwerp in 1570, with privilege].

Plate size: 377 x 506 mm

Scale: 1 : 23,000,000

Identification number: 8 (Koeman/Meurer: 4, Karrow: 1/9, Van der Krogt AN: 8600:31)

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

1570L(A)₄ (100 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: & Hieronymi
Fracastorij ; diamond-shaped full stop after title.),

1570L(B)₄ (100 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: Fracastorij. ; diamond-
shaped full stop after title.),

1570L(C)₄ (125 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: Fracastorij. ; circle-
shaped full stop after title.),

1571L₄ (275 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: Fracastorij),

1571L/1572GKoler₄ (few copies) (last line, left aligned, partly in Gothic lettering: schreiben
Ioann Baptist Baptistæ Rhamusij , vnd Hieronymi Fracastorij lesen.),

- 1571D/1573D4 (350 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it, in cursive script: *tueren secreten, hier mede besich laten, endt gaen voort onse landen beschryuen.*),
- 1572/1573G4 (225 copies printed) (last line, italic like the entire text, centred like two lines above it: *hiemit arbeitte lassen, vnd ghen fort, vmb vsere Lender zubeschreiben.*),
- 1572/1574F4 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 4 lines above it: & passons outre aux autres Pays.),
- 1573L(A)4 (c. 40 copies printed) (full stop after title just below the horizontal stroke of last capital A in title. Last line, centred like 5 lines above it: nymi Fracastorij.),
- 1573L(B)4 (c. 40 copies printed) (full stop after title just above the horizontal stroke of the last capital A in title. Last line, centred like 5 lines above it: nymi Fracastorij.),
- 1574L4 (175 copies printed) (large page number, 11 mm, similar, but not identical to 1575L; 9th text line from the top ends: Atlanticû ver ; last line, centred like 4 lines above it: Rhamusij, & Hieronymi Fracastorij.),
- 1575L4 (100 copies printed) (small page number, 7 mm, similar, but not identical to 1574L; 9th text line from the top ends: Atlanticum ver ; last line, centred like 4 lines above it: Rhamusij, & Hieronymi Fracastorij.),
- 1579L(A)4 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Baptistæ Rhamusij, & Hieronymi Fracastorij. ; 14th line from the top ends: Advertêdum),
- 1579L(B)4 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Baptistæ Rhamusij, & Hieronymi Fracastorij. ; 14th line from the top ends: Advertendum),
- 1580/1589G4 (350 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: nymi Fracastorij.),
- 1581F4 (400 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: re, & passons outre aux autres Pays.),
- 1584L4 (750 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: nis Baptistæ Rhamusi, & Hieronymi Fracastorij.),
- 1587F4 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: sons outre aux Pays.),
- 1588S4 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Baptista Rhamusi, y Hieronymo Fracastorio.),
- 1589G4 see 1580G,
- 1592L4 (525 copies printed) (text and pagenummer, but not typesetting identical to 1595L; 13th line from the bottom ends: apud ; last line, left aligned: ximo, habes litteras Ioannis Baptistæ Rhamusi, & Hieronymi Fracastorij.),
- 1595L4 (500 copies printed) (text and page number, but not typesetting, identical to 1592L; 15th line from the bottom ends: relinquimus at the right edge of the text; 13th line from the bottom ends: habes ; last line, left aligned: ximo, habes litteras Ioannis Baptistæ Rhamusi, & Hieronymi Fracastorij.),
- 1598/1610/1613D3 (100 copies printed) (last line, centred like 3 lines above it, in Gothic script: *landen beschryven.*),
- 1598F4 (525 copies printed) (last line, full width: en faire la diligète recherche aux inquisiteurs des secrets de nature, & passons outre aux autres Pays.),
- 1601L4 (200 copies printed) (15th line from the bottom ends: relinquimus as the second word of the line which is further empty; 13th line from the bottom ends: habes; last line, left aligned: ximo, habes litteras Ioannis Baptistæ Rhamusi, & Hieronymi Fracastorij.),
- 1602G4 (250 copies printed) (last line, centred like 5 lines above it: Hieronymi Fracastorij.),
- 1602S4 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Hieronymo Fracastorio.),

- 1603L4 (300 copies printed) (text and page number, but not typesetting, is identical to 1609/1612S/L; last line, left aligned: *teras Ioannis Baptistæ Rhamusi,& Hieronymi Fracastorij.*),
- 1606E4 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *Ierom Fracastorius. Of Africa likewise you may reade at large in the second volume of* M. Richard Hakluyts *English voyage.*),
- 1608/1612I5 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *con l'innondatione del Nilo , & del monte Sinai,doue caualcò in persona.*),
- 1609/1612L4 (300 copies printed) (text and page number, but not typesetting, is identical to 1603L; last line, left aligned: *litteras Ioannis Baptistæ Rhamusi,& Hieronymi Fracastorij.*),
- 1609/1612/1641S4 (325 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *tierra,tienes las cartas de Ioan Baptista Rhamusi, y Hieronymo Fracastorio.*).

Approximate total number of copies printed: 8175.

- States: (as described) 8.1: Note that the grade numbers of 20 and 30 degrees South have no line below them. Biledulgerid is missing above and below the Tropic of Cancer.
- 8.2: In some copies of the 1570L (the B or C version), and in all later editions, BI:LE:DVL:|GERID. has been added above and below the Tropic of Cancer.
- 8.3: Between 1581 and 1584, the 20 and 30 degrees South latitude lines now do extend to the outer decorative border. Further, the islands in the Atlantic received much more extended hachuring, first the hachuring was about 2 mm long, now about 4 mm; in the South-Eastern part of the Red sea, Cubitza|rif became Cubitza:|rif; Marzuzo in CEFALA became Marzazo; Matun on Madagascar became Matan, Mocouar opposite Aden became Moconar. The sea itself has also been re-engraved. The stipling of the sea, which used to enter textblocks in it slightly, are now clearly demarcated.
- 8.4: between 1588 and 1592, the women in the cartouche receive extra shading, more hachuring and thicker engraving.
- 8.5: during or after 1595L inclusion of a colon after the sea name OCEANVS | AETHIO: ; after 1595 a crack developed in the title cartouche, which is first visible in the 1598F and 1598D editions, and which gets worse with every succeeding edition.
- 8.6: Some time between 1606 and 1612 the date was removed. Some 1612S copies still have the date, and some do not.

The plate used for this map began to crack in the title cartouche between 1595 and 1598. Then the top right I and the second right A began to join. Later the third and fourth A on the right began to join as well as this crack widened. These unintentional 'states' can be used to date the map over the period 1598 to 1612.

Cartographic sources: Gastaldi (abt. 1505-1566) who made an 8-sheet map of Africa in 1564. Elements of the world map by Mercator of 1569 are also present (Meurer p. 151, Karrow 30/98, 56/17 p. 243-245, 388-393). Brandmair mentions Ruscelli, Forlani and Diogo Homem.

References: Norwich 1983, pp. 48-49. An elaborate description of this map, tracing and specifying Ortelius place name sources, and comparing them to Gastaldi is given by Bodenstein, 1998, 185-208 and Betz. 2007.

Remarks: I am grateful to Richard Betz, Wulf Bodenstein and Ashley Bayton-Williams for help in establishing these states. Note that the facsimile of the 1570(A) Latin Theatrum of the University Library of Amsterdam (OF 72-30) contains spurious lines in the degree scale lower left which are not present in the original. Note the presence of a *ghost monster* in the sea east of the Arab peninsula which fades away after 1584L. The sea battle depicted on this map is based on the America map of Diego Gutiérrez of 1562, engraved by Cock. This map was depicted on a stamp worth R.1,05 issued in 1993 by the government of Botswana.

Two text versions. Version 1, the scholarly version, is translated from the editions 1570 Latin (ABC), 1571L/1572GKoler, 1571 Latin, 1573 Latin (AB), 1574 Latin, 1575 Latin, 1579 Latin (AB), 1580/1589 German, 1584 Latin, 1588 Spanish, 1592 Latin, 1595 Latin, 1601 Latin, 1602 German, 1602 Spanish, 1603 Latin, 1606 English, 1608/1612 Italian, 1609/1612 Latin and 1609/1612/1641 Spanish:

8.1. {1570L(ABC)}{AFRICA.

8.2. The ancients have divided this part of the world in various ways; but at this moment it is divided {1574L{as Johannes Leo {1606E only{of Africa}1606E only} reports}1574L} into four main parts: Barbaria, Numidia, Libya and the land of the Negroes. Barbaria, which is considered the best, is washed by the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, and is bordered by the mountain range Atlas and by the region of Barcha bordering on Egypt. Numidia, called Biledulgerid by its inhabitants, abounds with dates (for which reason the Arabs call it by no other name than the date-bearing region) and is bound to the West by the Atlantic Ocean; Northwards by mount Atlas; it stretches Eastwards as far as the city Eloacat, which is one hundred miles from Egypt; and the sandy deserts of Libya embrace it in the South. Libya, the third part, is in the Arab language named Sahara, which means desert {not in 1571L/1572GKoler{in this language}not in 1571L/1572GKoler}. It begins East of the Nile and from there extends to the West as far as the Atlantic sea. Numidia lies to the North of it, and the land of the Negroes to the South. Now we get to the fourth part, which they call Nigritarum Terra [land of the black people], either because of the inhabitants, who are of a black colour, or because of the river Niger [black], which flows through the region. It is confined in the North by Libya, South by the Ethiopian Ocean, West by Gualata and East by the Kingdom of Goaga.

8.3. We are to note here that according to this division [of these writers] all of Africa is bound within the Mediterranean, Atlantic and Ethiopian seas and the river Nile; thus Egypt and Ethiopia {1571L/1572GKoler only{or the land of the Moors}1571L/1572GKoler only} have been accounted for as parts of Asia. {1571L, not in 1573L{Notwithstanding this, we think that they belong more properly to Africa}1571L, not in 1573L}. {1574L{For Ethiopia really contains at this day Prester John's empire, which is attributed to Africa by all modern writers}1574L}. We therefore agree with Ptolemæus that it ought to be

- bound by the Mediterranean and the oceans, rather than by any river whatsoever. And so it has the form of a peninsula being joined to Asia by an isthmus {1606E only}{or small neck-land}1606E only} which lies between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Arabia {1608/1612I only}{which is also called the Red Sea}1608/1612I only}.
- 8.4. The Southern part of this was not known to the ancients until the year 1497, when Vasco da Gama first rounded the Cape of Good Hope [Cabo de Bueno Sperança], and, sailing around Africa, came to Calicut {1606E only}{in East India}1606E only}. This part is called Zanzibar {1571L/1572GKoler instead{Lanzibar}1571L/1572GKoler} by the Persians and Arabs.
- 8.5. At the Cape of Good Hope just mentioned the inhabitants are exceedingly black, which we think is not wise to omit, because everyone supposes the cause of blackness to be the heat, and the closeness of the sun; while the sun here is not more scorching than it is at the Straits of Magellan {not in 1571L/1572GKoler, 1573L & 1602G}{if we measure the heat of the place}not in 1571L/1572GKoler, 1573L & 1602G} {1606E only}{according to the position of the heavens and the distance from the equinoctial line}1606E only}, yet, the people there are reported to be truly white.
- 8.6. But if we persist in ascribing this blackness to the scorching heat of the sun, let us consider what makes the Spaniards and Italians look so white, while they are both equally distant from the equinoctial line as are the inhabitants of the Cape just mentioned, that is, the one to the North, the other to the South.
- 8.7. Those who live in [the area of] Prester John [East Africa] are of a brown colour; in Zeilan and Malabar the inhabitants are black as coal, yet, they all live at one and the same distance from the Equator, and under the very same parallel {1571L/1572GKoler{or line}1571L/1572GKoler} of heaven.
- 8.8. {1601L, not in 1602G}{And in contrast to this, why did Herodotus and Pindarus describe those who have the same climate, namely Colchis, to be of a black colour and to have curly hair? Herodotus in {1608/1612I only}{the fourth book of}1608/1612I only} his *Thalia* claims the Indians to be black like the Ethiopians, which is confirmed by what we know at this time. I know that Herodotus claims the cause for this to be the seed of the parents, which he says is not white, like that of other people, but black. Which is what Postel confirms, who attributes the cause of this blackness to be Cham's curse. Which is an opinion that I do not challenge. Let the truth of the matter rest on the credibility of the authors}1601L, not in 1602G}.
- 8.9. But this you may think even stranger: that no black people were to be found all over America except for a few, and only in one place which they called Quareca. What then is really the cause of a black skin? Is it {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{the heat of the sun? or}1580/1589G & 1602G only} {not in 1580/1589G & 1602G}{the dryness of the air}not in 1580/1589G & 1602G}, or of the earth? Is it perhaps some hidden property of the soil? Or a kind of quality inherent and innate in the nature of man?
- 8.10. Or is it all of these united into one? But let us leave these things to be further considered by those who are more curious in their search into the secrets of nature.
- 8.11. This portion of the world is called Libya by the Greeks {1571L/1572GKoler instead{Groc}1571L/1572GKoler instead} and by the Romans Africa [without frost], because it is not afflicted by extreme cold. Or, (if we may believe Iosephus) the name comes from Afer, one of Abraham's descendants. Another derivation of the name has

been recorded by Johannes Leo {1606E only} in the beginning of his first book on the description of Africa, who derives it from the Arabic concept of Faraka, meaning to disjoin or separate, because it is separated from Europe by the Mediterranean sea, from Asia as he says by the river Nile or rather, as the best authors have taught, by the Arabian gulf called by the Greeks [in Greek lettering:] *ερυθραια θαλασσα*, Mare Rubrum, the red sea, and by the Jews [in Hebrew lettering] *iam-suff*, mare algosum vel iuncosum, the sedgy [full of plants] sea, and by the Arabs living close to it Bahci 'Ikulzom, the alkulzom sea.

- 8.12. For the same reason Julius Cæsar Scaliger thinks that Sicilia received its name from Seco which means to cut because this island was thought by the ancients to have been cut off from the mainland and to have been connected to Italy in earlier times. Others, in their own way, *nullo digno autore, nullo solido & certo argumento* [without mentioning a serious author, nor with solid and certain arguments] derive the name of Africa from Africus, a king of blessed Arabia, about whom they claim that he founded settlements here and was the first to inhabit it {1606E only}.
- 8.13. {1574L} The principal islands of this part of the world, (to mention them all here seems to us to be unnecessary, because they are to be seen on the table [map]) are Madagascar, the Canaries, the isles of Cap Verde {1584L, not in 1606E} as they are commonly called {1584L, not in 1606E} and São Tomé island situated under the Equinoctial, which abounds with sugar {1574L}.
- 8.14. Among the old authors, there are none that have written about this region separately. But read on the subject {1592L, not in 1602G} *Bellum Iugurthinum* by Sallustius {1592L, not in 1602G} [about] Hanno and his circumnavigation in Africa in Arrianus; and about Iambolus {1606E only} and his voyage {1606E only} in Diodorus Siculus; {1579L} and also Melpomenes by Herodotus {1579L} {1608/1612I only} who in the fourth book of his History writes about inner Ethiopia {1608/1612I only} {1592L, but not 1602G} and Barlaam's narration about Ethiopia or India which is still extant in the Augustan Library {1592L, not in 1602G}.
- 8.15. Of recent writers, read Aloysius Cadamostus, Vasco da Gama, and Francesco Alvarez who travelled in Ethiopia {1571L/1572G} Koler instead {the land of the Moors} {1571L/1572G} Koler. But of all writers Johannes Leo has most exactly described it, {1579L} and Luis del Mármol, {1579L} {1592L, not in 1602G} and also Livio Sanuto {1592L, not in 1602G}. João de Barros also promises to publish a volume on Africa. Concerning the river Nile, the greatest in the whole world, you have the writings {1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S have instead {maps} {1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S instead} of Giovanni Battista Ramusio and Girolamo Fracastoro} {1570L(ABC), 1571L/1572G} Koler, 1571L, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L, 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602S, 1602G, 1603L, 1609/1612L and 1609/1612/1641S end here}. {1606E only} You may also read extensively about Africa in the second volume of Richard Hakluyts English Voyage {1606E only} which ends here}. {1608/1612I only} and finally all from Filippo Pigafetta of Vicenza's travels through Egypt with its floodings by the Nile, and about Mount Sinai, based on his personal observations {1608/1612I only} which ends here}.

Now follows the vernacular text template, translated from the 1571/1573 Dutch, 1572/1573 German, 1572/1574 French, 1581 French, 1587 French, 1598/1610/1613 Dutch and the 1598

French editions. Note that the 1580/1589G and 1602G editions side with the previous text version.

8.16. {1571D}{Africa.

8.17. Africa (which we nowadays call Land of the Moors {1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F have instead{Ethiopia}1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F instead} has by the ancient authors in former days been divided into many parts. In our times it is commonly divided into six main parts which are: Barbaria, Egypt, Biledulgerid, Sahara [Sarra], the Land of the Black, and Prester John's Land. And this is all that was anciently known, (though under different names), about Africa. Because from the lakes where the river Nile has its source towards the South, it was unknown to the ancient writers, which part now is called Zanzibar by the Arabs and Persians. Its Southern cape in the South Sea has been named Cape of Good Hope [Cabo de bona speranza], in the year 1497 has first been reached by Portuguese sailors.

8.18. Africa is entirely surrounded by the sea except for a narrow piece of land (namely between Egypt and the Holy Land), where it is joined to Asia. For it has in the North the Mediterranean sea, in the West {1572/1573G only{where the sun sets}1572/1573G only} the large ocean which one crosses when sailing to Brazil, in the South and South-East the sea which one crosses when going to Calicut and the Isles of the Moluccas, and {1572/1573G only{where the sun rises or}1572/1573G only} in the East the Red Sea.

8.19. To describe this Africa properly, it is to be understood that Barbaria stretches out along the Mediterranean sea where you find the Canary Islands on its west side, and the mountain range Atlas Eastwards to Egypt. In this Land of Barbaria one finds the kingdoms of Marrakech, Fès, Algiers, Tunis &c. Egypt is located between this Barbaria, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean and the Land of Prester John.

8.20. Biledulgerid is the land which used to be called Numidia, (this is where you find numerous date trees), and extends from Barbaria Southwards to the Land of the Black, and Eastwards to the Land of Prester John. Sahara [Sarra], (which means wilderness in their language) is an arid and sandy region where on a journey of many days one will not see any houses or water except what the travellers took with them.

8.21. This Sarra in the South borders on the Land of the Black, and extends to the sea where one finds the Isle of São Tomé. In this land one finds the Kingdom of Guinea and other lands.

8.22. Prester John's Land extends very far and wide, namely from Egypt to the lakes where we said that the Nile has its source between the South and the North, in the East to the Red Sea and in the West to the Kingdom of Nubia and the river Niger. The inhabitants of this country are Christians. This is the part that has always been known.

8.23. The new part, called Zanzibar contains the countries of Habascia and Gazacia, (so called in de Girava's Geography,) as also the Kingdoms of Mozambique and Cefala &c. Here is also situated the isle of St. Laurentius, called Madagascar by its inhabitants, and its size is one hundred miles in circumference. Here you find plenty of ivory, since there are many elephants here. The Isles of Canary and of Cabo Verde also belong to this part of Africa. {1572/1573G only{Also São Tomé Isle, which yields a lot of sugar, hence its name}1572/1573G only}. But since we have now arrived at the Land of the Moors

- {1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F have instead{Ethiopia}1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F instead}, it seems worthwhile to me to write something about these Moors.
- 8.24. I have often wondered why it is, {not in 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F{(considering that it is commonly believed that the whiteness or blackness of the human skin is related to the closeness or distance of the sun above these countries, as also that wherever the sun is right above their heads, you will find the blackest people, and in contrast, wherever the sun is farthest away the whitest people)}}not in 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F}, that here in Africa around Guinea and in the Land of the Black, (which is located between the Equator and the Tropic), all the inhabitants are black Moors! Whereas in Prester John's Land, right under the equator, you find yellow Moors! And along the Equator in America fully white Moors! On the basis of what has just been observed, it should have been different, {1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F have instead{which is in contrast with the opinion generally held by people who say that the people are whiter, or more black, after the distance to the sun}1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F instead}, that is to say, the nearer one is to the Equator, (or Middle Line as the sailors call it), the blacker the inhabitants.
- 8.25. But what is even harder to understand, at the Cape of Good Hope [Cabo de bona speranza] the inhabitants are totally black, and at the Straits of Magellan [Strecho de Magellano] they are totally white, but both are equally far South of the Equator. But in all of America there are no black people to be found anywhere. Why should it be, when sunburn causes blackness, that the Spanish and Italians are white, when they live as far from the Equator Northwards as those in Cape of Good Hope [Cabo de bona speranza] live Southwards of it? That is, these live between 30 and 40 degrees South of the Equator and the others as much North of the Equator! What can be the reason for this difference in colour?
- 8.26. Some dryness of the sky? Or of the earth? Or of some stars? Or some unknown property of the land? Or some innate characteristic in the nature of man? Or all of these together? But let us leave this to the researchers of the secrets of nature and continue our descriptions of our other lands}1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F and 1598/1610/1613D end here}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in this text:

Alvarez, Francis 8.15 (1570)
 Arrianus 8.14 (1570)
 Barlaam 8.14 (1592)
 Barrius, Ioannes: Africa 8.15 (1570)
 Cadamostus, Aloysius 8.15 (1570)
 Diodorus Siculus 8.14 (1570)
 Fracastorius, Hieronymus: letters 8.15 (1570)
 Girava: Geography 8.23 (1571)
 Hakluyt, Richard: English voyage II 8.15 (1606 only)
 Hanno: Africa 8.14 (1570)
 Herodotus 8.7 (1570); : Thalia 8.8 (1601); Melpomene 8.14 (1579)
 Iosephus 8.11 (1570)
 Leo, Iohannes: Africa 8.11, 8.15 (1570)
 Marmolius, Ludovicus 8.15 (1579)

Pigafetta, Ph. 8.15 (1608 only)
Pindarus 8.7 (1579)
Postellus 8.8 (1601)
Ptolemæus 8.3 (1570)
Rhamusio, Giovanni Baptista: letters 8.15 (1570)
Sallustius: Bellum Iugurthinum 8.14 (1592)
Sanutus, Livius 8.15 (1592)
Scaliger, Iulius Cæsar 8.12 (1606 only)
Vasco da Gama 8.15 (1570)

3.2.2 Ort18, Scotland

Title: SCO:|TlÆ TA:|BVLA [A map of Scotland] (lower right:) cum priuilegio. [with privilege]. L. Nessa, neque | flu. Neſſa unquam congelator. [Loch Ness and the river Ness never freeze]. Lacus Lomond, magnis | tempestatibus obnoxius | est, et in eo pisces | pinnis carent. [there are obnoxious tempests in Loch Lomond, and its fish have no bones].

Plate size: 357 x 478 mm

Scale: 1 : 1,150,000

Identification number: Ort18 (Koeman/Meurer: 54, Karrow: 1/78, Van der Krogt AN: 5800:31)

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

- 1573L1Add6.A. (100 copies printed) (identical with 1573L, but different page number; last line, centred like one line above it: De Scotia & insulis vicinis, lege quos hoc loco citauimus, Hectorem Boethium, & Ioannem Maiorem, Scothos.),
- 1573D1Add6A/1573D6A (150 copies printed) (last line, centred like 7 lines above it, in Gothic script: behooren.),
- 1573L(A)7 (40 copies printed) (identical with 1573L1Add, but with different page number has a first line ending with: reti- ; last line, centred like one line above it: De Scotia & insulis vicinis, lege quos hoc loco citauimus, Hectorem Boethium, & Ioannem Maiorem, Scothos.),
- 1573L(B)7 (40 copies printed) (first line ending with: linguam; last line, centred like one line above it: De Scotia & insulis vicinis, lege quos hoc loco citauimus, Hectorem Boethium, & Ioannem Maiorem, Scothos.),
- 1573G1Add/1573G6A (150 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: welke beid Schotlænder gewesen.),
- 1574F1Add/1574F6A (125 copies printed) (last line, centred like 3 lines above it: qu'ayant le tiltre de Duché elles sont sous le Roiaume d'Escosse.),
- 1574L7 (175 copies printed) (large page number, 11 mm; first text line ends: linguam reti- ; last line, centred like one line above it: De Scotia & insulis vicinis, lege quos hoc loco citauimus, Hectorem Boëthium, & Ioannem Maiorem, Scotos.),

- 1575L7 (100 copies printed) (small page number, 7 mm; first text line ends: linguam re- ; last line, centred like one line above it: De Scotia & insulis vicinis , lege quos hoc loco citauimus, Hectorem Boëthium,& Ioannem Maiorem, Scotos.),
- 1579L(A)9 (250 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it: De Scotia & insulis vicinis, lege quos hoc loco citauimus, Hectorem Boëtium, & Ioannem Maiorem,Scothos.),
- 1579L(B)9 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: nem Maiorem,&Ioannem Leslæum,Scotos. one but last line: sub Ducatus titulo sciamus. De Scotia & insulis vicinis, lege quos hoc loco citauimus, Hectorem Boëthum,& Ioan-),
- 1580/1589G9 (350 copies printed) (last line, partly in Gothic script, left aligned: nemlich Hectorem Boethium,vñ Ioannem Maiorem, welche beyde selbst Schottländer gewesen seindt.),
- 1581F9 (400 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Danemarc,& toutefois nous sçauons bien qu'ayant le tiltre de Duché elles sont sous le Royaume d'Escoce.),
- 1584L10 (750 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: nem Maiorem,& Ioannem Leslæum,Scotos.),
- 1587F10 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Danemarc, & toutefois nous sçauons bien qu'ayant le tiltre de Duché elles sont sous le Royaume d'Escoce.),
- 1588S10 (300 copies printed) (last line first text page, right aligned: en Scocia ; last line second text page, left aligned: leer a los que nos aqui hemos citado, Hector Boëtho, y Ioan Mayor, y Ioan Leslæo, Escoceses.),
- 1589G9 see 1580G,
- 1592L11 (525 copies printed) (page number under the first letter of Maiorem in the one but last line; last line, left aligned: Leslæum, Scotos.),
- 1595L11 (500 copies printed) (page number under & between Maiorem and Ioannem in one but last textline; last line, left aligned: Leslæum, Scotos.),
- 1598/1610/1613D12 (100 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in Gothic script: Schotlandt met een tytel eens Hertogdoms behooren.),
- 1598F11 (525 copies printed) (last line, full width: sous les Roys de Danemarc,& toutefois nous sçauōs bien qu'ayāt le tiltre de Duché ellessont sousle Royaume d'Escoce.),
- 1601L11 (200 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: hos quos superius citauimus,Hectorem Boëthum, & Ioannem Maiorem, & Ioannem Leslæum, Scotos.),
- 1602G11 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in Gothic script like the entire text: selbst Schottländer gewesen seindt.),
- 1602S11 (250 copies printed) (one but last line, left aligned: bien el azul que llaman lazur. Tambien tiene minas de hiero y de plomo. last line, right aligned: Los ; last line second text page, left aligned: y Ioan Mayor,y Ioan Leslæo,Escoceses.),
- 1603L11 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Boëthum, & Ioannem Maiorem, & Ioannem Leslæum,Scotos. Text and typesetting identical with that of the 1609/1612L edition, but page number 11 is located below the word citauimus in one but last line),
- 1606E11 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: in *Hector Boëthius, Iohn Maior*, and *Iohn Lisle*, Scottish-men which haue written the histories of this their country.),
- 1608/1612I11 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Boeto, Giouanni Maggiore, & Giouanni Lesleo Scozzesi si puo leggere à sufficienza.),

1609/1612LII (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Boëthum, & Ioannem Maiorem, & Ioannem Leslæum, Scotos. Text and typesetting identical with that of the 1603L edition, but page number II is for this edition located below the space between the word superius and citauimus in the one but last text line).

1609/1612/1641SII (325 copies printed) (last line first text page, right aligned: dad, ; last line second text page, left aligned: aqui hemos citado, Hector Boëto, y Ioan Mayor, y Ioan Leslæo, Escoccezes.),

Approximate number of copies printed: 7300.

States: 18.1 as described.

18.2: in 1598F the hachuring on coastlines was extended from about 3 to about 6 mm; ornaments around cartouche circle received shading.

18.3: after 1598 and before 1601L, dots were added around sea names. The place name *S. Iohns* has been added just above the A of *Angusia*, about 20 miles North of Edinburgh.

Cartographic sources: Mercator's 1564 wall map of the British Isles in 8 sheets (Meurer p. 197, Karrow 56/16, p. 387-388).

References: D.G. Moir, 1973, pp. 14-16, 24-26, 164.

Remarks: this map is essentially an enlarged part of the British isles map, Ort16. Next to *Orcades insulæ*, *The iles of Orkney* has been added. *Cardenbrog* has been changed to *Carndeburg* and North of the Hebrides the Isle of *Rona* has been added.

First we present the scholarly text, translated from the 1573 Latin 1st Add/1573 Latin (AB), 1574 Latin, 1575 Latin, 1579 Latin (AB), 1584 Latin, 1588 Spanish, 1592 Latin, 1595 Latin, 1601 Latin, 1602 Spanish, 1603 Latin, 1606 English, 1608/1612 Italian, 1609/1612 Latin and 1609/1612/1641 Spanish editions.

18.1. {1606E only}{Of}1606E only} {1573LiAdd/1573L(AB)}{SCOTLAND.

18.2. Scotland, the Northern {1602G instead{Western}1602G instead} part of the isle of Britain, anciently called Albania, is now called by its first inhabitants {1606E & 1608/1612I only}{(the wild Scots)1606E & 1608/1612I only} {not in 1606E & 1608/1612I{the farmers} not in 1606E & 1608/1612I}, who live more inland and who still retain their old language, Albayn. It was formerly called Britannia Minor and Secunda by the Romans as Llwyd gathers from Sextus Rufus. This country is divided into two parts by the rough and craggy Grampius mountains{1606E only{(now Grantzbeen)}1606E only} (which Tacitus mentions).

18.3. This mountain [range] begins at the German ocean, near the mouth of the river Dee along the coasts of Aberdeen, through the middle of the country towards the Irish sea, and ends at lake Lomond. This mountain [range] was once regarded as the boundary of the kingdoms of the Picts and Scots.

- 18.4. Scotland is more mountainous and barren than England. Yet it has everywhere many commodious harbours {not 1606E{and the sea is everywhere}not in 1606E}. For this country is so much embraced by the arms of the sea that there is no house in it, as confirmed by John Major, which is more than twenty leagues {1580/1589G & 1602G instead{thirty Italian miles}1580/1589G & 1602G instead} distant from the salt water. In the valleys there are lakes, pools, rivers and springs well provided with all sorts of fish. In the mountains you find excellent plains, yielding great store of pastures for cattle, and woods abounding with plenty of venison. By means of which commodities it has been naturally preserved in such a way that so far it has never been an easy conquest. For whenever there is imminent danger, they immediately fly to the woods and bogs, for help and refuge, where they have sufficient venison and fish to provide them with food protecting them from famine.
- 18.5. Scotland has many wonders to offer, some of which we present here on the basis of Hector Boece. In Galloway, he says, there is a lake called Myrtoun, of which part of the water in winter freezes {not in 1608/1612I{as happens elsewhere}not in 1608/1612I}. But another part of it was never known to be frozen even in the greatest spells of frost. In the country of Carrick there are very large and heavy oxen, whose meat is very tender and of a pleasant and delicate taste. Besides that, their fat never hardens, but is always soft and liquid like oil. The sea that washes the shore of this province is very rich in oysters, herrings, eels, mussels and other such shell-fish.
- 18.6. In the province of Kyle, about ten miles from the town of Ayr there is a stone, almost 12 {1608/1612I has instead{10}1608/1612I instead}feet high, 33 ells {1580/1589G & 1602G only{or 48 feet}1580/1589G & 1602G only} thick, called by the inhabitants, not without reason, Surdum, the deaf stone. For however much noise you make on one side, even if you shoot a cannon there, it shall not be heard on the other side, except if you are a good distance away from it, for then the sound will be easily audible. In Lennox, which Ptolemæus calls Lelgovia {1606E only{(Lelannonia as I read it in Ptolemæus, but I think our author means Selgovia, which is far from this place)}1606E only} there is a very large lake which they commonly call Lomond, more than twenty-four miles long and eight miles wide. {after § 7 in 1608/1612I only{It contains more than thirty islands, many of which have well-inhabited villages, with churches and shrines dedicated to saints}after § 7 in 1608/1612I only}.
- 18.7. In this, three things are especially worth to be remembered. For the fish here, most wholesome and good to eat, have no fins. Then, even when the winds are very calm and quiet, the water is sometimes so boisterous and rough that it frightens the most hardy sailors from setting out to cross this lake. Even when the winds are weak, the boats drift off to the middle and are tossed about so dangerously that unless some commodious harbour happens to be near, they are often overturned and cast away. Lastly, there is an island in it, providing very good pasture for feeding cattle, which floats and moves every way as the winds push it.
- 18.8. It has been reported credibly that there is a stone which is found in Argyll {1606E only{(Argathelia or Argile)}1606E only} which, if it is covered for just a while with straw or flax, will set this on fire. At Slanis, {not in 1580/1589G & 1602G{(a castle in Buchan)} not in 1580/1589G & 1602G}, there is a cave of a strange nature. For the water that flows into it in the course of time is turned into a very white kind of stone. And if this had not

been taken out within some years, the cave would have been filled up by it a long time ago. In this province, no rats are ever to be seen. And if it should happen that any rats were to be brought there, they will not survive.

- 18.9. In the country of Fife a great amount of a kind of black stone is dug from the earth {1606E only(we call it sea coal),}1606E only} a most excellent kind of fuel. At the mouth of the river Forth in the main sea there is a very high rock whose top has a spring with sweet water (a great miracle of nature) which flows abundantly. About two miles from Edinburgh there is a spring on the surface of whose waters drops of oil float all the time, of a kind that if you take none of it, there will not be more in time, but if you do take it away, there will never be less. The oil is good against roughness of skin. So far from him {1606E only(as regards strange things from this realm}1606E only}. In the country of Drysdale, Scotland has a gold mine, in which they also find what is commonly called Lazure. It has also iron and lead mines.
- 18.10. The inhabitants who possess the Southern part, on this side of the Grampian mountains, are more civil and humane. And they speak the English language. Those who dwell in the Northern parts are a rough and more hardy kind of people {1580/1589G, 1602G & 1606E only{(they call themselves the wild Scots}1580/1589G, 1602G& 1606E only}. {not in 1580/1589G, 1602G & 1606E{They are called the Scots from the woods} not in 1580/1589G, 1602G & 1606E}. They wear coats and skirts dyed with saffron after the Irish fashion, and go bare-legged up to the knee. {not in 1606E{Their weapons are bow and arrow, and a sword with a very wide blade. They always wear in their belt on the side a dagger, sharp on one side only}not in 1606E}. They speak the Irish tongue. And like the language of Scotland is of two sorts, likewise diverse are their manners. These Maior {1606E instead{Marianus}1606E instead} Scotus calls highland-men, the others, {1580/1589G, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1606E & 1608/1612I only{I mean the wild Scots,}1580/1589G, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1606E & 1612I only} (the Scots from the woods, I mean) they call lowland-men.
- 18.11. The main city of Scotland is Edinburgh. There is the king's seat, and the castle of Maidens often celebrated in histories. Then Saint Andrews which has a university, and Aberdeen also has a university. The city of Glasgow is the archbishop's see. The town of Perth, commonly called St. John's-town is the only town in Scotland with stone city walls. Of the woods of Caledonia (about which Ptolemæus and other ancient writers have written), there are now scarcely any remnants of to be found, [and those] only at the town of Stirling. So far for the kingdom of Scotland. Now it will not be wrong to say something about the islands which lie around it and which belong to the crown.
- 18.12. The Hebrides, {1606E only{(commonly called the West-iles)}1606E only} both in number and size outperform the rest. Hector Boece says that they are 43 in number. But here he includes the isle of Man as one of them, while it is not subject to the kingdom of Scotland, but is under the allegiance of the king of England. Neither do I think that it was ever by the ancients counted under the Hebrides. The first among the Hebrides is Arran [Arana] (sometimes called Bute), then Helau and Rothesa [now Bute]. Not far from there is Ailsa, where there are a great many birds which they call Soland geese, a kind of large ducks. The largest isle of all, and the most famous one, {not in 1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S{is Islay,}not in 1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S} with a fertile soil for corn, and rich in metal. Then there are also Cumbra and Mull.

- 18.13. Near to these is Iona, memorable for the tombs of kings, buried here a long time ago. Next to this is Lewis, and last of all Hirtha, situated at 63 {1606E has instead{43}1606E instead} degrees of elevation. This is what Boece calls them. But John Major the Scot names them like this: Argyla, Aranea, Awyna, Butha or Rothsaya, and Lesivora. On these islands are geese which they call Clakes, (Silius Gyraldus calls them Bernacas [barnacles]) which Boece confirms to grow in the sea out of rotten wood, and which are not bred in trees, as others believe and have set forth in their vernacular writings. If you cast a piece of wood into the sea, he says, in due time, there will first be worms breeding in the wood, which little by little will form heads, feet and finally wings with feathers. At last, being full fledged, attaining the size of a goose, they attempt to fly. {1606E only{Sometimes they swim}1606E only}, and they fly in the air flapping their wings like other fowl do.
- 18.14. Beyond the Hebrides are the Orchades {1606E only{(or the Orkney iles)}1606E only} of which the best is Pomonia [now mainland], famous for its Bishop see, a great temple and two strong castles. John Major calls one of these Zeland [Shetland]. It is 50 miles long. No trees grow on it, nor any wheat, but it is very fertile with all other kinds of produce. No serpents or other poisonous creatures breed there. In Scotland they sell barrelled salted butter. The inhabitants have an abundance of barley, of which they brew the strongest kind of drink, and of all people they are the best drinkers {1580/1589G, 1588S, 1602G, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S only{of the entire world}1580/1589G, 1588S, 1602G, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S only}. Yet, says Boece, you shall never see a drunk or madman, or one deranged or a natural fool amongst them.
- 18.15. The same author says the same about the inhabitants of Shetland {1580/1589G & 1602G instead{Scots}1580/1589G & 1602G instead}. But this is no wonder, as most of them drink nothing but water. The wealth and commodities of these Shetland-men {1580/1589G & 1602G instead{Scots}1580/1589G & 1602G instead} consist entirely of stockfish and animal hides. On the Hebrides they use the Irish tongue. On the Orkney isles they speak the Gothic language. Mr. Jordanus on his map of Denmark says that the Orkneys are subject to the kingdom of Denmark. Yet, we know them to belong to Scotland under the title of a duchy. {1584L, 1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S only{But see what we have written about this there}1584L, 1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S only} {1574L, 1595L, 1601L, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I & 1608/1612L only{in the text belonging to the map of Denmark}1574L, 1595L, 1601L, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I & 1609/1612L only}. Of Scotland and the surrounding islands, you may read more in authors cited above, such as Hector Boece, John Major{1573L1Add/1573L ends here} {1579L, not in 1580/1589G & 1602G{and John Lesley}1579L, not in 1580/1589G & 1602G}, [all of them] Scots {1573L1/1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1602S, 1603L, 1608/1612I, 1609/1612L & 1609/1612/1641S end here} {1606E only{who have written the histories of this country of theirs}1606E only, ending here}.

Now we present the vernacular version of this text, translated from the editions 1573D1Add/1573D, 1573G1Add/1573G, 1574F1Add/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598/1610/1613D & 1598F.

- 18.16. {1573D1Add/1573D{SCOTLAND.

- 18.17. Scotland, the Northern part of the isle of Britain, anciently called Albania, is now called by its first inhabitants, {not in 1598/1610/1613D{who live more inland and}not in 1598/1610/1613D} who still retain their old language, Albayn. It was formerly called Britannia Minor and Secunda by the Romans as Llwyd gathers from Sextus Rufus. This country is divided into two parts by the rough and craggy Grampian mountains (which Tacitus mentions).
- 18.18. This mountain [range] begins at the German ocean, near the mouth of the river {not in 1573G1Add/1573G{Dee}not in 1573G1Add/1573G} along the coasts of Aberdeen, through the middle of the country towards the Irish sea, and ends at lake Lomond. This mountain [range] was once regarded as the boundary of the kingdoms of the Picts and Scots.
- 18.19. Scotland is more mountainous and barren than England. Yet it has everywhere many commodious harbours {not in 1598/1610/1613D & 1598F{and the sea is everywhere}not in 1598/1610/1613D & 1598F}. For this country is so much embraced by the arms of the sea that there is no house in it, as confirmed by John Major, which is more than twenty leagues distant from the salt water. In the valleys there are lakes, pools, rivers and springs well provided with all sorts of fish. In the mountains you find excellent plains, yielding great store of pastures for cattle and woods abounding with plenty of venison. By means of which commodities it has been preserved in such a way that so far it has never been an easy conquest. For whenever there is imminent danger, they immediately fly to the woods and bogs, for help and refuge, where they have sufficient venison and fish to provide them with food protecting them from famine.
- 18.20. Scotland has many wonders to offer, some of which we present here on the basis of Hector Boece. In Galloway there is a lake called Myrtoun, of which part of the water in winter freezes as happens elsewhere. But another part of it was never known to be frozen even in the greatest spells of frost. In the country of Carrick there are very large and heavy oxen, whose meat is very tender and of a pleasant and delicate taste. Besides that, their fat never hardens, but is always soft and liquid like oil. The sea that washes the shore of this province is very rich in oysters, herrings, {not in 1573G1Add/1573G{eels,}not in 1573G1Add/1573G} mussels and other such shell-fish.
- 18.21. In the province of Kyle, within ten miles from the town of Ayr there is a stone, almost 12 feet high, 33 ells thick, called by the inhabitants, not without reason, Surdum, the deaf stone. For however much noise you make on one side, even if you shoot a gun there, it shall not be heard on the other side, except if you are a good distance away from it, for then the sound will be easily audible. In Lennox, {1574F1Add/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F have instead{Lemnos}1574F1Add/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F instead} (which Ptolemæus calls Lelgovia) there is a very large lake which the Scots commonly call Lomond, more than twenty-four miles long and eight miles wide. It contains thirty islands, many of which have well-inhabited villages, with churches, and chapels, dedicated to saints.
- 18.22. In this, three things are especially worth to be remembered. For the fish here, most wholesome and good to eat, have no fins. Then, even when the winds are very calm and quiet, the water is sometimes so boisterous and rough that it frightens the most hardy sailors from setting out to cross this lake. Even when the winds are weak, the boats are tossed about so dangerously that unless some commodious harbour happens to be near, they are often overturned and cast away. Lastly, there is an island in it, providing very good pasture for feeding cattle, which floats and moves every way as the winds push it.

- 18.23. It has been reported credibly that there is a stone which is found in Argyll which, if it is placed on top of straw or flax for a while, will set this on fire. At Slanis, (a castle in Buchan), there is a cave of a strange nature. For the water that drips into it in the course of time is turned into a very white kind of stone. And if this had not been taken out within some years, the cave would have been filled up by it a long time ago. In this province, no rats are ever to be seen. And if it should happen that any rats were to be brought there, they will not survive.
- 18.24. In the country of Fife a great amount of a kind of black stone is dug from the earth, a most excellent kind of fuel. At the mouth of the river Forth in the main sea there is a very high rock whose top has a spring with sweet water (a great miracle of nature) which flows abundantly. About two miles from Edinburgh there is a spring on the surface of whose waters drops of oil float all the time, of a kind that if you take none of it, there will not be more in time, but if you do take it away, there will never be less. The oil is good against {1574F1Add/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only}{gall ailments and}{1574F1Add/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only} roughnesses of skin. So far about these matters. In the country of Drysdale, Scotland has a gold mine, in which they also find {1572/1573G only}{what is commonly called}{1572/1573G only} Lazure. It has also iron and lead mines.
- 18.25. The inhabitants who live in the Southern part, on this side of the Grampian mountains, are more civil and humane. And they speak the English language. Those who dwell on the other side, in the Northern parts are a rough and more hardy kind of people (they call themselves the wild Scots). They wear coats and skirts dyed with saffron after the Irish fashion, and go bare-legged up to the knee. Their weapons are bow and arrow, and a sword with a very wide blade. They always wear in their belt on the side a dagger, sharp on one side only. They speak the Irish tongue. And like the language of Scotland is of two sorts, likewise diverse are their manners. These according to Maior Scotus we call highland men, the others, I mean the wild Scots, we call lowland men.
- 18.26. The main city of Scotland is Edinburgh. There is the king's seat, and the castle of maidens {not in 1573G1Add/1573G}{often celebrated in histories}{not in 1573G1Add/1573G}. {1598/1610/1613D only}{In Noch, there are}{1598/1610/1613D only} Saint Andrews which has a university, and Aberdeen which also has a university. Further, the city of Glasgow is the archbishop's see. The town of Perth, commonly called St. John's-town is the only town in Scotland with city walls. Of the woods of Caledonia (about which Ptolemæus and other writers have written), there are now scarcely any remnants of to be found, and those only at the town of Stirling. So far for Scotland which is adorned with the title of kingdom. Now it will not be wrong to say something about the islands which lie around it and which belong to the crown.
- 18.27. The Hebrides, both in number and size outperform the rest. Hector Boece says that they are 43 in number. But here he includes the isle of Man as one of them, while it is not subject to the kingdom of Scotland, but is under the allegiance of the king of England. Neither do I think that it was ever by the ancients counted under the Hebrides. The first among the Hebrides is Arran [Arana] (sometimes called Bute), then Helau and Rothesa [now Bute]. Not far from there is Ailsa, where there are a great many birds which they call Soland-geese, a kind of large ducks. The largest isle of all, and the most famous one, is Islay, with a fertile soil for corn, and rich in metal. Then there are also Cumbra and Mull.

- 18.28. Near to these is Iona, memorable for the tombs of kings. Next to this is Lewis, and last of all Hirtha, situated at 63 degrees of elevation. This is what Boece calls them. But John Major the Scot names them like this: Argyla, Aranea, Awyna, Butha or Rothsaya, and Lesivora. On these islands are geese which they call Clakes, (Silius Gyraldus calls them Bernacas [barnacles]) which Boece confirms to grow in the sea out of rotten wood, and which are not bred in trees, as others believe and have set forth in their vernacular writings. If you cast a piece of wood into the sea, he says, in due time, the wood being hollowed, there will first be worms breeding in the wood, which little by little will form heads, feet and finally wings with feathers. At last, being full fledged, attaining the size of a goose, they fly in the air flapping their wings like other fowl do.
- 18.29. Beyond the Hebrides are the Orkneys of which the best is Pomonia [now mainland], famous for its bishop see, a great temple and two strong castles. John Major calls one of these Zeland [Shetland]. It is 50 miles long. No trees grow on it, nor any wheat, but it is very fertile with all other kinds of produce. No serpents or other poisonous creatures breed there. In Scotland they sell barrelled salted butter. Although the inhabitants have an abundance of barley, of which they brew the strongest kind of drink, and of all people are the best drinkers, yet, says Boece, you shall never see a drunk or madman, or one deranged or a natural fool amongst them.
- 18.30. He says the same about the inhabitants of Shetland. But this is no wonder, as most of them drink nothing but water. The wealth and commodities of these Shetland-men consist entirely of stockfish, and animal hides. On the Hebrides they use the Irish tongue. On the isles called Orkneys they speak the Gothic language. Mr. Jordanus on his map of Denmark says that the Orkneys are subject to the kingdom of Denmark. Yet, we know them to belong to Scotland under the title of a duchy}1573D1/1573D, 1574F1Add/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598/1610/1613D & 1598F end here}. But see what we have written about this there. Of Scotland and the surrounding islands, you may read more in authors cited above, such as Hector Boece and John Major, [all of them] Scots}1573G1Add/1573G ends here}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in this text:

Bede is mentioned on the map as calling the Hebrides by the name of Mevanias (1573)
 Boece or Boëthius, Hector 18.5 (1573) 18.12 (1573), 18.13 (1573), 18.14 (1573), 18.15 (1573), 18.20 (1573), 18.27 (1573), 18.28 (1573), 18.29 (1573), 18.30 (1573)
 Giraldus Cambrensis, also Silvester Giraldus 18.13 (1573)
 Jordanus, 18.15, 18.30 (1573)
 Llwyd quoting Sextus Rufius 18.2 (1573), 18.17 (1573)
 Lesley, John 18.15 (1579)
 Mayor, John 18.4 (1573), 18.13 (1573), 18.14 (1573), 18.15 (1573), 18.19 (1573), 18.25 (1573), 18.28 (1573), 18.29 (1573), 18.30 (1573)
 Ptolemæus 18.6 (1573), 18.11 (1573), 18.21 (1573), 18.26 (1573)
 Rufus, Sextus quoted by Llwyd 18.2 (1573), 18.17 (1573)
 Scotus, Marianus 18.10 (1606 only)
 Tacitus 18.2, 18.17 (1573)

3.2.3 Ort58, Low Countries

Title: DESCRIP:|TIO GERMANLÆ INFERIORIS. [A representation of Lower Germany].

Plate size: 382 x 507 mm

Scale: 1 : 1,100,000

Identification number: Ort58 (Koeman/Meurer: 14, Karrow: 1/22, Van der Krogt AN: 3000:31A).

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

- 1570L(AC)14 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it: non legisse, sed oculis eas perlustrasse sibi persuadebit.),
- 1570L(B)14 (100 copies printed) (last line, centred: ciardinum legat,& non legisse, sed oculis eas perlustrasse sibi persuadebit.),
- 1571L14 (275 copies printed) (last line, centred: ciardinum legat,& non legisse, sed oculis eas perlustrasse sibi persuadebit.),
- 1571L/1572GKoler14 (few copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in Gothic script: gelesen/sonder selbst mit augen gesehen hette.),
- 1571/1573D14 (350 copies printed) (last line, in Gothic script, centred like 6 lines above it: bekent heeft gemaect.),
- 1572/1573G14 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 3 lines above it: namen noch mehr bekant gemacht hat.),
- 1572/1574F14 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 3 lines above it: cognu entre les estrangers.),
- 1573L(A)18 (40 copies printed) (last line, centred like 2 lines above it, in cursive script like the entire text: *num legat, & non legisse, sed oculis eas perlustrasse sibi persuadebit.*),
- 1573L(B)18 (40 copies printed) last line, centred like 2 lines above it, in cursive script like the entire text: *num legat, & non legisse, sed oculis eas perlustrasse sibi persuadebit.*
- 1574L18 (175 copies printed) (large page number, 11 mm; identical to 1575L except for size of page number; last line, in three columns: dracum Latinis. dris, Terouenne Gallis. Taruanna citur.),
- 1575L18 (100 copies printed) (small page number, 7 mm; identical to 1574L except for size of page number; last line, in three columns: dracum Latinis. dris, Terouenne Gallis. Taruanna citur.)
- 1579L(A)25 (250 copies printed) (last line, second and third column, in italic script: *veteres habetur, olim Episcopalis sedes*, [next column:] *dicitur.* ; 28th line from the top ends: com-)
- 1579L(B)25 (250 copies printed) (last line, second and third column, in italic script: *veteres habetur, olim Episcopalis sedes*, [next column:] *dicitur.* ; 28th line from the top ends: compa-),
- 1580/1589G25 (350 copies printed) (last line, in two columns, in Gothic script: Tienen nennen die Frantzosen Tilemont. Die Frantzosen sagen Liege: die Flandrer/Leye, (nius/Scaldis.,
- 1581F25 (400 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: dres de tant plus cognu entre les estrangers.),

- 1584L30 (750 copies printed) (last line, in italic script, second and third column only, second column: *veteres habetur. olim Episcopalis sedes*; ; third column: *citur.*),
- 1587F30 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: nom de Flandres de tant plus cognu entre les estrangers.),
- 1588S30 (300 copies printed) (last line, second and third column: *ruana*. , Flamenco se dize *Leye.*),
- 1592L32 (525 copies printed) (last line, italic in three columns except for the first word: lines *dicunt Galli. ..nomen tantum. ..citur.*),
- 1595L34 (500 copies printed) (last line, italic, of text in three colums, of which the first two: *dicunt Galli ..teribus dicitur.*)
- 1598/1610/1613D26 (100 copies printed) (last line, centred like 5 lines above it, in Gothic script: heeft ghemaect.),
- 1598F37 (525 copies printed) (last line, full width: sainte,& Hierusalé,ce qu'a rendu ce nom de Flādres de tant plus cognu entre les etrangers.)
- 1601L34 (200 copies printed) (last line, in 2 columns, in italic script: *dicunt Galli. ... bus dicitur.*),
- 1602G37 (250 copies printed) (last line, in two columns, in Gothic script like the entire text: Tienen nennen die Franzosen Tilemont Die Franzosen sagen Liege:die Flanderer Leye.),
- 1602S37 (250 copies printed) (last line, second and third column: *Yerruana*. , Flamenco se dize *Yeye.*),
- 1603blank (Vrii) no text or page number,
- 1603L37 (300 copies printed) (last line above three columns of placenames, left aligned: hæc nonnullorum locorum synonyma vulgaria, huic paginæ annectere volui.),
- 1606E34 (300 copies printed) (last line, in three columns, first column: MACHELEN, in Latine *Mechlinia*, in French *Malines*; second column: the name only; third column: Leye.).

Approximate number of copies printed: 7250.

States: 58.1 as described;

58.2: from 1592L onwards, the hachuring of the coast lines was extended from about 2 to about 5 mm; in the circle around the upper left and lower right orientation indication, i.e. in West and East, a vertical hachuring was superimposed upon the original, horizontal hachuring.

Cartographic sources: authorities disagree. Koeman, 1964, in his booklet accompanying the first printed 1570L atlas facsimile (Sequoia Elsevier) attributes this map to Jan van Hoirne's 1556 map of the Oosterschreef which only covers one eighth of the present map. Van der Heijden, 1987, (p. 20, map 14) thinks that another, unknown map by this cartographer, as mentioned in the Catalogus is more likely. Karrow (88/8, p. 619-620) attributes this map to the 1568 map of the Low Countries by Matthias Zuendt (1498-1571). Finally, Meurer (p. 91) makes a convincing case for de Jode's 12 sheet map of 1566, itself based primarily on Jacob van Deventer's province maps.

References: Van der Heijden, 1998, p. 271-290.

Remarks: From 1608/1612I onwards replaced by the Germania Inferioris map of Vrients, see plate Ort59. However, the text for this new map was taken from this map.

Text, scholarly version, translated from the 1570L(ABC), 1571L, 1571L/1572GKoler, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E editions:

- 58.1. {1570L(ABC),{Lower Germany}1570L(ABC)} {1595L, 1601L, 1603L, 1606E instead{Germany on this side of the Rhine, commonly called {not in 1601L{the Netherlands}not in 1601L} or the Low Countries}1595L, 1601L, 1603L & 1606E instead}.
- 58.2. {1570L(ABC){This table [map] does not represent all of Lower Germany but only a part, namely that which Philip, son of {not in 1606E{Emperor}not in 1606E} Charles the fifth possesses by right of inheritance. And it contains the following 17 provinces: the duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg and Gelderland; the countships of Flanders, Artois, Henault, Holland, Zeeland, Namur, and Zutphen {1571L/1572GKoler only{Zitphaniae or Zutphanien}1571L/1572GKoler only}; the marquise of the Sacred Empire; the Seigniories of Friesland, Mechelen, Utrecht, Overijssel {1571L/1572GKoler{ that is, land on the other side of the [river] IJssel}1571L/1572GKoler only} and Groningen. Regions as civil and well-manured as any, in which (according to Ludovicus Guicciardini) there are 208 cities, fortified with walls, ramps, or ditches, and more than 6300 villages with steeped churches, next to a great number of hamlets, castles and fortifications {1571L, not in 1606E{which are not included in these numbers}1571L, not in 1606E}{1580/1589G & 1602G only instead{of which there are also quite a few}1580/1589G & 1602G only instead}. And this area, beginning from the Eastern part at the river Amisus, commonly called Eems, the boundary of it towards the ocean, has these princes bordering it: the duke of East Friesland, the bishop of Münster, the duke of Cleve, the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, and then the French king along the Southwestern shore as far as the river Aa, the extreme Western border of these provinces.
- 58.3. The air, though it may seem over-moist, is yet most healthy, and agreeable to the constitution and digestion of the inhabitants, who are here of great longevity, especially in Kempenland, {1606E only{the most Northern}1606E only} part of Brabant {1571L/1572GKoler & 1602G only{where many old people live}1571L/1572GKoler & 1602G only}. It is everywhere watered with rivers, and sufficiently adorned with woods and groves, either for pastime, or hunting, or beautiful sights. Of mountains it has none, except only around Luxemburg, Namur and in Henault, where it rises in some places to [the level of] hills.
- 58.4. It abounds with corn and fruits of all sorts and also with herbs for medicinal use. Here also grows {1592L only{in sandy places}1592L only} plenty of that heather plant which the inhabitants call {not in 1601L and later{Ericeta}not in 1601L and later} {1571L/1572GKoler instead{Erica}1571L/1572GKoler instead}, {1595L{buckwey, which the people corruptly pronounce as bockwey, as if you would say, the beech-herb. For the seed or grain (be it in smaller form) is three-square, altogether like the nut of the beech. So it may truly be called beech-corn {not in 1606E{though not growing on a tree, but closer to the ground, so that animals can graze it}not in 1606E} or called, if you like [Greek

lettering] γαμειφηγος. Whether this corn was known in ancient times, let herbalists inquire^{1595L}. But ^{1601L} not in ^{1602S}{in sandy places, which the inhabitants there because of the occurrence of the Erica plant call Ericeta^{1601L}, not in ^{1602S}} as is the case in Kempenland ^{1606E} only{in the North^{1606E} only}of Brabant it does not grow in such abundance. This kind of Eretica heather yields such excellent food for cattle, that (as agreed on by the neighbouring countries) their meat is pleasant and delectable to a man's taste as any.

- 58.5. ^{1592L}{It is this region, I suppose, that Plinius most truly describes in his 17th book, 4th chapter, where he says: What is better than the pastures of Germany? And yet, under a thin slab [of soil] you have immediately a mould of barren sand^{1592L}}. It breeds no creatures harmful to mankind.
- 58.6. All these regions are called by most foreigners (most ignorantly mistaking part for the whole) Flanders, and its inhabitants Flemings, whereas Flanders is but a part [of it] only, and but one province ^{1606E} only{of the seventeen^{1606E} only}, as you may plainly see on the map. These therefore are in as serious an error as if a man, to refer to Spain, should mention Castilia, Andaluzia or any other specific province, or speaking of Italy should mention Tuscany or Calabria &c., or talking about the whole kingdom of France should mention only Normandy, ^{1606E} only{or Bretagne^{1606E} only}, &c., and so should imagine to have spoken of all of Spain, all of Italy or all of France.
- 58.7. Ioannes Goropius Becanus has described these regions most learnedly in his Becceselana, [as has] Petrus Divæus of Louvain, and Hubertus Thomas of Liege. Iohannes Calvetus Stella, a Spaniard, wrote in his own language a Journal of King Philip's [military] progress through all these provinces, in which you shall find many details worth reading, that shine a light on the knowledge of these countries and cities. But whoever desires to have more detailed and firm information on these places, let him read Ludovico Guicciardini and he will then think that he has not read about these provinces, but has seen them with his own eyes^{1570L(ABC)}, ^{1571L} & ^{1573L(AB)} end here}. ^{1595L}, not in ^{1602G}{Recently David Chytræus in his Saxon history has also written extensively and learnedly on these matters^{1595L}, not in ^{1602G}}.
- 58.8. ^{1574L}{Since the inhabitants here are bilingual, and in most places speak both the French and the Dutch language equally well, and since the country for trade and negotiations is frequented by Spaniards [!] and by strangers of other foreign nations, this has been the cause that various cities, towns and rivers have more than one name. For everyone names them after his own language with a name much differing from the proper name used by its native inhabitants. Ignorance about this multiplicity of names has caused many authors (otherwise not to be reproached) to commit intolerable errors. And among these is Dominicus Niger, who in his Geography puts down Anversa on the location of Taravanna, and Antorpia (which, in spite of this, in the edition printed by Henricus Petrus he corrupts to Antroicipia) he puts on the bank of the Tabuda, thirty ^{1580/1589G} & ^{1602G} only{Italian^{1580/1589G} & ^{1602G} only} leagues from Taravanna, whereas everyone of us knows that Antorpia and Anversa refer to one and the same city, [namely] Antwerp.
- 58.9. Similarly he supposes each couple Mechelen and Malines, Leodium and Liège, Noviomagum and Nijmegen, Traiectum on the Maas and Trait (for which he wrongly writes Trecia) to be two different towns, whereas in fact they refer to one only. He

grossly declares the city Raremuntium to be called Liège and somewhere else he insists on naming the same Raremuntium as Rhamon. But on the basis of his description I guess that by Raremuntium and Rhamon he means nothing else than the town we call Roermond. He takes Rhenen, a city in Gelria lying on the banks of the river Rhine, because of the similarity of the names, to be quite the same as the bishopric of Reims a small area in the province of Champagne in France.

- 58.10. But since he is utterly unacquainted with the situation in our regions, his errors to me may seem more forgivable. Whatever the case may be, lest others studious in Geography should lapse into the same errors, I thought it good to annex onto this page some of the common synonyms or different names of certain specific places.

----- [in text; in 2 or 3 columns]

- 58.11. Antwerpen in Low Dutch, in Latin Antwerpia and Andoverpia. In High German Antorff; hence in Latin [also] Antorpia, the Italians call it Anuersa, the Spaniards and French Enberes and Anvers.
- 58.12. {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{We high Germans say Aach or Aachen,}1580/1589G & 1602G only}, Aken in Dutch, in French Aix, and in Latin Aquisgranum.
- 58.13. {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{we say Herzogen Busch, the Dutch say}1580/1589G & 1602G only}'s Hertogenbosch, in French Bois-le-duc, and in Latin Silva ducalis, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Bolduque}1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.14. {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{We write Löwen, the Dutch}1580/1589G & 1602G only}, Leuven, in Latin called Louanium, and in French Louvain, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Lovayna}1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.15. Lille by its people, in High Dutch {1580/1589G & 1602G instead{we say}1580/1589G & 1602G instead}Rijssel, in Latin Insula, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Lila}1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.16. Liège by its people, in High Dutch Luyk, {1580/1589G & 1602G instead{We say Luik oder Lüttich}1580/1589G & 1602G instead}, in Latin Leodium, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Liega}1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.17. Keulen so called by the inhabitants {1580/1589G & 1602G instead{We say Köln}1580/1589G & 1602G instead}, in French Coloigne, and in Latin Colonia Agrippina, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Colonia}1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.18. {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{We say}1580/1589G & 1602G only}Dordrecht, by contraction, we also call it Dort, in Latin Dordracum, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Dordreque}1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.19. {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{We say}1580/1589G & 1602G only}Mechelen, in Latin Machlinia, and in French {1588S & 1602S only}{and Spanish}1588S & 1602S only}Malines.
- 58.20. Tournay by its inhabitants {1588S & 1602S only}{and Spanish}1588S & 1602S only}, {1580/1589G & 1602G instead{We high Germans say Dornich}1580/1589G & 1602G instead} in High Dutch Doornik, and in Latin Tornacum.
- 58.21. Arras in French {1588S & 1602S only}{and Spanish}1588S & 1602S only}, Atrecht in Flemish, and by the learned Atrebatum.
- 58.22. {1602G only}{what is called}1602G only}Maubeuge, in Latin they call it Malbodium.
- 58.23. Tienen, in French {1588S & 1602S only}{and Spanish}1588S & 1602S only}Tilemont.

- 58.24. {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{We say Namurc or}{1580/1589G & 1602G only}, Namur {1588S & 1602S only}{in French and Spanish}{1588S & 1602S only}, the Brabanders call it Namen, {1579L}{in Latin Namurcum}{1579L}.
- 58.25. {1580/1589 & 1602G only}{We say}{1580/1589G & 1602G only}Maastricht, and by contraction Tricht, in French Trait, is by ancient Latin writers called Traiectum ad Mosam, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Mastroque}{1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.26. Viset, in High Dutch Weset {1580/1589G & 1602G instead}{We say Waset}{1580/1589G & 1602G instead}, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Vise}{1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.27. St. Truien, in French Centron, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Cantron}{1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.28. Thionville in French, Diethoven in High Dutch {1580/1589G & 1602G instead}{We say Ditenhofen}{1580/1589G & 1602G instead}, and in Latin Theodonis villa, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Thionvila}{1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.29. Terrewanen and Terreborch in Flemish, Terouenne in French, Tarvanna in ancient Latin writers, It used to be the seat of a bishop, but it now has the name only, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Terruana}{1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.30. Gulik, {1580/1589G & 1602G instead}{We say Güllich}{1580/1589G & 1602G instead}, the French call it Iuliers, in Latin Iuliacum.
- 58.31. Mons {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{we, like}{1580/1589G & 1602G only}the Flemings call it Bergen, {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{those speaking Latin call it Montè}{1580/1589G & 1602G only}.
- 58.32. Geertsbergen which I hear is also called St. Adrianus, and in French Grammont.
- 58.33. Ioudogne, by those Brabanders that speak High Dutch {1580/1589G & 1602G instead}{is by the German Flemish}{1580/1589G & 1602G instead} called Geldenaken.
- 58.34. Gemblours, an abbey {1595L, not in 1602S}{with a small city}{1595L, not in 1602S}, in Latin Gemblacum, {1588S & 1602S only}{the Spanish call it Gibblom}{1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.35. Soigni in French, in Flemish Senneke.
- 58.36. Halle, in French Nostre Dame de Hault.
- 58.37. Kortrijk, {1580/1589G & 1602G instead}{We say Kortrich}{1580/1589G & 1602G instead} Courtray in French {1588S & 1602S only}{as well as in Spanish}{1588S & 1602S only}, {1575L}{Cortracum in Latin}{1575L}.
- 58.38. Coomen, in French Comines.
- 58.39. {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{We say the river Maas}{1580/1589G & 1602G only}, the Dutch Maase, in French is called Meuse, and in Latin {1588S & 1602S only}{and Spanish}{1588S & 1602S only} Mosa.
- 58.40. {1580/1589G & 1602G only}{We say}{1580/1589G & 1602G only} the river Schelde, in French Escault, is by Iulius Cæsar {1579L}{and Plinius}{1579L} called Scaldis, {1588S & 1602S only}{in Spanish Scalda}{1588S & 1602S only}.
- 58.41. The river Liege in French, is in Flemish named Leye}{1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602S, 1602G, 1603L & 1606E end here}.

Note that as a native speaker of Flemish, when Ortelius refers to 'we' = Low Dutch = Dutch = Flemish = Brabants, and High Dutch = sometimes German, as in ANTORFF, but

mostly = Dutch. Since 'we' in the German editions refers to we Germans, rather than we Flemings, the presentation of these exonyms is here rather complex.

Since the texts of the 1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F and 1598/1610/1613D editions differ considerably from the text given above, a separate translation of these vernacular texts in merged form is presented below. Note that the first German editions of 1572/1573 fit in this vernacular template, but that the later editions of 1580/1589 and 1602 shift to the scholarly template.

58.42. {1571/1573D}{The Netherlands.

58.43. This map does not represent all of the Netherlands but only the part which king Philip of Spain, our respectable ruler, possesses by right of inheritance. And it contains the following 17 provinces: the duchies of Brabant, Gelderland, Limburg, and Luxemburg; the duchies of Vlaanderen, Artois, Henegouwen, Holland, {not in 1572/1573G{Zeeland} not in 1572/1573G}, Namen, and Zutphen; the marquesate of the Sacred Empire; the seigniories of Friesland, Mechelen, Utrecht, Overijssel and Groningen, all of them well developed and with excellent buildings.

58.44. In these regions, (according to Ludovico Guicciardini in his Italian book written about these provinces) there are 208 cities, fortified with walls, ramps, {not in 1572/1573G{and ditches}not in 1572/1573G}, and more than 6300 villages with {1572/1573G only{priests and}1572/1573G only} churches and parishes, next to a great number of hamlets, castles and fortifications {1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598/1610/1613D & 1598F only{and mansions}1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598/1610/1613D & 1598F only}. And this area, (from the eastern part at the river Eems to the river Aa in the West, starting from here, has these neighbours bordering it: the King of France, the {1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only{Arch-}1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only}bishops of Trier and of Cologne, the duke of Cleve, the bishop of Münster, and the duke of East Friesland.

58.45. It is everywhere watered with rivers, and sufficiently adorned with woods and groves, either for pasture as is needed for this purpose, {1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only{pastime, or hunting,}1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only} or for their beautiful sight. Of mountains it has none, except only around Luxemburg, Namur and in Henegouwen, where it rises in some places to [the level of] hills.

58.46. It abounds with corn and fruits of all sorts, and also with herbs for medicinal use. In various places, which we because of the abundance of heather call Heath-ground, (the Romans call it Erica), like for instance in Kempenland, a part of Brabant, {not in 1571/1573D & 1598/1610/1613D{places which naturally have such plants}not in 1571/1573D & 1598/1610/1613D}, it does not grow there in such great abundance. But these places have been provided by nature miraculously with a gift for cattle. For this kind of heather yields such excellent and healthy pasture ground for cattle, that their meat is exceedingly tasty, such as comes from oxen, sheep, poultry, rabbits, &c., also yielding butter, milk etc., which surpasses all from elsewhere in taste. As a result, the Kempen meat and butter have a high price {1572/1573G instead{great praise}1572/1573G instead}, also for its own inhabitants.

- 58.47. The air in this area, though it may seem over-moist, is yet most healthy for the inhabitants, who are here of great longevity, especially in Kempenland in Brabant, where you can find very old people.
- 58.48. All these regions together are called by most foreigners, as there are the Spanish, Italians and the French, (most ignorantly mistaking part for the whole) Flanders, and its inhabitants Flemings, whereas Flanders is but a part of it only, as if a man should mention Castilia, or Andalusia and thinks that he is referring to all of Spain, or intends to speak of all of Italy while just mentioning Tuscany or Lombardy. Or to say Normandy, or Gascoigne, &c., while imagining to have spoken of the whole kingdom of France, &c.
- 58.49. I have often wondered what the origin is of this kind of mistake [of calling all of the Low Countries Flanders], and finally I have arrived at the conclusion that it arose because of the commerce which used to be restricted to Brugge, and nowhere else in this region. Thus it was this city only that the foreign people and nations visited. And since this city is located in Flanders, therefore no other country was mentioned but Flanders. Everything came from Flanders and everything went to Flanders.
- 58.50. And since they heard nothing but Flanders, they have concluded that all these lands were called Flanders. What also helped to spread this error, I think, was the fact that some counts of Flanders were once emperors of Constantinople, and also distinguished themselves in their battle {not in 1581F, 1587F & 1598F{against the heathens}not in 1581F, 1587F & 1598F} to conquer the Holy Land and Jerusalem, which also has contributed to the popularity of this name [of Flanders] among foreigners}1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F and 1598/1610/1613D end here}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in this text:

Becanus, Johannes Goropius: Becceselanis 58.7 (1570)
 Cæsar, Iulius 58.40 (1574)
 Chytræus, David: Saxon history 58.7 1595)
 Divæus, Petrus of Louvain 58.7 (1570)
 Guiccardini, Ludovico 58.2 (1570), 58.7 (1570), 58.44 (1571D)
 Niger, Dominicus: Geography 58.8 (1574)
 Petrus, Henricus 58.8 (1574)
 Plinius: Bk.17, Ch.5 58.5 (1592), 58.40 (1579)
 Stella, Iohannes Calvetus, a Spaniard: Journal of King Philip 58.7 (1570)
 Thomas, Hubert of Liège 58.7 (1570)

3.2.4 Ort129, Como-Rome-Friuli

Title: LARII LACVS VVLGO | COMENSIS DESCRIPTIO, | AVCT. PAVLO IOVIO.
 | Excurrit Larius a Meridie in Sep:|tentriōnem, pronior tamen in Oriente. [A depiction of lake Larius, vulgarly called Como by Paulus Iovius. The river Larius runs from South to North, or rather to the East].
 Top left: Museum P. | Iouij | Vbi olim Pli:|nij platanus fuit | eius epistolis cele|brata| Vico. [The library of Paulus Iovius, where once stood the plane tree of Plinius, famous from his letters]. Brandelli|arx. Luit|prandi regis | opus. [Brandellus castle, a work of king Luitprandus]. Comvm, duorum | Pliniorum pa:|tria. [Como, the native city of the two Plinies].

Left top centre: Busbinus mons cum specula | et templo Deiparæ Virginis. [Mount Busbinus, with a watch tower and temple of the Virgin, equal to God].

Top centre: In iugo huius prō:|fuit villa Plinij | quā Tragediam | appellare solebat. [On the top of this cape was the mansion of Plinius, which he used to call by the name of Tragedia].

Below top centre: Geßima regio Vi:|na subaustera iu:|cunditate celebris. [The region of Gessima, famous for its pleasant Southern wine].

Top centre right: Hic candidi marmo:|ris fodinæ. [Here are quarries of white marble].

Cultonius | ager genero|so vino celebris. [Cultonius fields, famous for its generous wine].

His montibus | niger marmor | excinditur. [In these mountains black marble is mined].

Top right: Non longe ab Olonia | turri Volturrenā ur:|bem fuisse constat, ex | uestigijs ibidē ex tantibus. [Not far from Olonia was the tower of the city of Volturrena, as appears from numerous traces].

TERRE:|TORII | ROMA:|NI DESCRIP. [A depiction of the area of Rome].

FORI IV:|LII VVL:|GO FRIV:|LI TYPVS. [A map of the market place of Iulius, vulgarly Friuli]. Lower middle: Cum priuilegio. [with privilege].

Upper left: M. setius | unde origi|nem | sumunt tria flumina. [Mount Setius, from where three rivers originate]. M. Mauris | ubi fons | Tagliamenti. [Mount Mauris, where you find the spring of the river Tagliamento].

Lower left: Liuenza ol: Liquen:|tia fl. diuidit Forum | Iulij a Marchia Triuigiana. [The river Livenza, once called Lipientia separates Forum Iulium from Marchia Trivigiana].

Centre: Auensonio hic terminus est ditionis | Venetorū, et Ducum Austriæ. [Avenonio; this is the border of the realm of the Venetians and the dukes of Austria].

Lower right corner: Grado oppidū & insula | hic S.Marci sedes ebur:|nea religiose custoditur. [The city and island of Grado; here the ivory seat of Saint Marcus is being guarded].

Middle right: Hic argenti viui | fodinæ sunt. [Here are mines of quicksilver]. Prosecho ol:Pucinum, hinc vina a Plinio | tantopere laudata. [Prosecho, once called Pucinum. From here comes wine highly praised by Plinius].

Plate size: 338 x 482 mm. Three maps on one plate.

Identification number: Ort129, see further below.

Title 129a: Larii Lacus:

Scale: 1 : 80,000. Size: 145 x 465 mm.

Identification number: Ort129a (Koeman/Meurer: 35a, Karrow: 1/46, VdKrogtAN: 7026:31).

States: 129a.0 has no figure in the extreme upper right, according to Frayn (see next state). I have never found a copy of this state.

129a.1 has a figure and a cross added in 1570, according to a novel by Michael Frayn¹ featuring Ortelius, and referring to this figure, which was first noted in Maphist. My view is that state 0 does not exist.

129a.2: between 1575 and 1579 all coastlines of lake and sea received extended hachuring, the length of which increased from about 3 to about 6 mm. The vertical lines below the Como map, partially overlapping with the frame, received horizontal hatching superimposed on the existing vertical hatching, resulting in small squares; the fields

below the lake in the extreme lower right corner now have diagonal hatching instead of horizontal hatching.

129a.3: between 1584 and 1595, horizontal hatching was superimposed on the diagonal hatching of the previous state, resulting in small diamond shapes. The diagonals faded in the course of time, so that by 1609 we have back the horizontal lines, resembling the first state, without being identical to it.

Cartographic sources: Paulus Jovius, 1483-1552 (Meurer p. 157, Karrow 33/1, p. 266-274)

Title 129b: Terretori Romani:

Scale: 1 : 350,000. Size: 190 x 241 mm.

Identification number: Ort129b (Koeman/Meurer 35b, Karrow: 1/47, VdKrogtAN: 7310:31).

States: 129b.1 as above.

129b.2: between 1575 and 1579 all coastlines of lake and sea received extended hachuring, the length of which increased from about 3 to about 6 mm.

Cartographic sources: Eufrosino della Volpaia, abt. 1500-1552 (Meurer p. 261). See also Hessels nr. 185, p. 443-445. Brandmaier suggests Pirro Ligorio as the source of this map.

Title 129c: Fori Iulii:

Scale: 1 : 800,000. Size: 190 x 241 mm.

Identification number: Ort129c (Koeman/Meurer 35c, Karrow: 1/48, VdKrogtAN: 7171:31).

States: 129c.1 as described

129c.2: between 1575 and 1579 all coastlines of lake and sea received extended hachuring, the length of which increased from about 3 to about 6 mm.

Cartographic sources: Gregorio Amaseo, (1464-1541), via Giovanni di Vavassore, (abt. 1510-abt. 1572) (Meurer pp. 259-260, Karrow 4/1, pp. 37-39).

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

1570L(A)35 (100 copies printed) (last line, full line: quàm diligentia,maximisq; impensis eius Fastos æneis Tabulis libri forma expressit.),

1570L(B)35 (100 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it, in italic script like almost the entire text: *maximisque impensis eius Fastos æneis Tabulis libri forma expreßit.*),

1570L(C)35 (125 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it, in italic script like the entire text: *Tabulam Romani Imperij (quum maximè floruit)effigiem continentem.*),

1571L35 (275 copies printed) (last line, italic like the entire text, centred like one line above it: *Tabulam Romani Imperij(quum maximè floruit)effigiem continentem.*),

1571L/1572GKoler3 [should be 35] (few copies printed) (last line, in Gothic script like most of the text, left aligned: auf Eherene Tafeln.),

1571/1573D 35, (350 copies printed) (last line, centred: met oogen sien can,hoe wijt ende breedt sy eertijts(doense in haren besten fleur was)gheregeert heeft.),

1572/1573G35 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it: mag vvie vveit vnd brait das sie ehzeit(da sie noch in irem besten thun war)regiert hat.),

1572/1574F35 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 4 lines above it: en grande reuerence.),

- 1573L(A)46 (40 copies printed) (text on Rome and Fori Iulii in non-cursive script; last line, centred like 4 lines above it: *peculiarem,ex Ioannis Sambuci beneficio obtinuit.*),
- 1573L(B)46 (40 copies printed) (the text on Rome and Fori Iulii are here in cursive script. Last line, centred like 4 lines above it: *peculiarem,ex Ioannis Sambuci beneficio obtinuit.*),
- 1574L46 (175 copies printed) (large page number, 11 mm; last line, centred like 4 lines above it: *peculiarem,ex Ioannis Sambuci beneficio obtinuit.*),
- 1575L46 (100 copies printed) (small page number, 7 mm; last line, centred like 3 lines above it: *peculiarem,ex Ioannis Sambuci beneficio obtinuit.*),
- 1579L(A)65 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *gentia maximisque impensis eius Fastos æneis Tabulis libri forma expressit.*),
- 1579L(B)65 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *cio quàm diligentia maximisque impensis eius Fastos æneis Tabulis libri forma expressit.*),
- 1580/1589G65 (350 copies printed) (last line, centred like 4 lines above it, mostly in Gothic script: *außgedruckt.*),
- 1581F65 (400 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *elle estoit en sa fleur.*),
- 1584L71 (750 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *quàm diligentia maximisque impensis eius Fastos æneis Tabulis libri forma expressit.*),
- 1587F71 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *elle estoit en sa fleur.*),
- 1588S71 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *y con grandes gastos ,entallo sus Fastos, en tablas de cobre , a manera de libro.*),
- 1592L76 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *quàm diligentia,maximisque impensis,eius Fastos æneis Tabulis libri forma expressit.*),
- 1595L79 (500 copies printed) (last line, full width: *nori artificio,quàm diligentia,maximisque impensis,eius Fastos æneis Tabulis,libri forma expressit.*),
- 1598/1610/1613D56 (100 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *ooghen sien can,hoe wijt ende breedt sy eertijts(doense in haren besten fleur was) gheregeert heeft.*),
- 1598F81 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *ment, quand elle estoit en sa fleur.*),
- 1601L79 (200 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *forma expressit.*),
- 1602G82 (250 copies printed) (last line, centred like 4 lines above it, in Gothic script like most of this text: *außgedruckt.*),
- 1602S82 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *artificio que diligencia,y con grandes gastos,entallo sus Fastos,en tablas de cobre, a manera de libro.*),
- 1603L82 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *Tabulis , libri forma expressit.*),
- 1606E79 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *booke the table of his Fasti, most cunningly cut in brasse.*),
- 1608/1612I88 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in cursive script like 8 lines above it: *Giouanni Georgio Trissino gentil'huomo Vicentino nel 18. lib. dell'Italia liberata da Gotthi Poema Heroico.*),
- 1609/1612L88 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *minori artificio, quàm diligentia, maximisque impensis, eius Fastos æneis Tabulis,libri forma expressit.*),
- 1609/1612/1641S88 (325 copies printed) (last line, in cursive script like most of the text, left aligned: *a manera de libro.*).

Approximate number of copies printed: 8175.

Text, scholarly editions, (translated from the 1570L(ABC), 1571L, 1571L/1572GKoler, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I, 1609/1612L and 1609/1612/1641S editions).

129.1. {1570L(ABC)}{Lake COMO, {not in 1571L/1572GKoler, 1580/1589G & 1602G}{once called LACVS LARIVS}}not in 1571L/1572GKoler, 1580/1589G & 1602G}.

129.2. LACVS LARIVS (which they now call Lago di Como after Como, the ancient town lying next to it) {not in 1571L {and took its name from the Fen-duck, a bird which the Greeks call Larus {1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S only [in Greek lettering]}{λαρὺς}1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S only}{1580/1589G & 1602G have instead in Greek lettering {απο το λαρου}1580/1589G & 1602G instead}, and the Romans Fulica (1580/1589G & 1602G have instead{hailgeese}1580/1589G & 1602G instead}, (1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S only{in Spanish cerceta}1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S only}{1608/1612I only{and in Italian Folega}1608/1612I} of which it has plenty}not in 1571L}, runs from North to South for a distance of sixty {1606E only{forty}1606E only} miles {1570L(A) & 1571L/1572GKoler only{but it also has fish, according to Plinius. Many small rivers flow into it, coming from}1570L(A) & 1571L/1572GKoler only} mountains everywhere, whose tops are covered with groves of chestnut trees. The slopes have vines and olives, [and] its feet with woods are provided with numerous deer for game.

129.3. On the edge of the lake there are many castles {1580/1589G & 1602G have instead{villages}1580/1589G & 1602G instead}, among which on the South side {1570L(A) & 1571L/1572GKoler only{there is Lechum, [Lecco] where there is a bridge for crossing the river Ada, joining the banks. Farther on these banks towards the East, there is a castle in the mountains (for the lake is crowned by mountains everywhere except on its Eastern shore where they recede to some extent). Then there are Mandella, Bolanum, &c. On the South side of this lake}1570L(A) & 1571L/1572GKoler only} there is the famous city of Como, a fair town founded by the Galli Orobij, or as some think by the Galli Cenomanes. Later Divus Julius {1571L/1572GKoler instead{Emperor Julius}1571L/1572GKoler instead}{1580/1589G, 1588S, 1602S, 1606E & 1609/1612/1641S have instead{Iulius Cæsar}1580/1589G, 1588S, 1602S, 1606E & 1609/1612/1641S instead} built a settlement with Romans, {not in 1570L(BC) & 1571L{[with] amongst [its] inhabitants five hundred Greek gentlemen, as Strabo says,}not in 1570(BC) & 1571L} after which it was called Novum Comum. It is situated in a most pleasant place, so that one would think it to be a kind of paradise or a place devoted to pleasure and delight.

129.4. For on the front side it has the beautiful lake, on the back side excellent plains, well manured and fertile for all sorts of fruits. To which you may add the wholesome and sweet air. {1595L, not in 1602G, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S{About the brass statue long since taken out of this city, see *Cassiodorus* 2. Variar. cap. 35 and 36.}1595L, not in 1602G, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S}. {1570L(BC), not in 1571L/1572GKoler{This town brought forth the two *Plinies*, men worthy of eternal fame, in whose honour and memory the citizens ordered this eulogy to be engraved in marble on the front of St. Maries Church, {not in 1608/1612I{which we read {1606E instead{which we copied}1606E instead} in the year {1606E{of CHRIST}1606E} 1558 on our return from Italy}not in 1608/1612I}.

129.5. On the right part of the door

129.6. The state and citizens of Como have graced C. Plinius Secundus, the most worthy freeman of their corporation (a man of fertile wit, honourable for his dignities, admirable for learning, who in his lifetime obtained the love and friendship of Vespasianus the emperor, held many great offices, excelled above all writers of his time in eloquence and variety) with his title and statue.

129.7. {as translated in 1606E{Such honour great and worthy fame me Plinius did adorne:

129.8. But much it grac'th me more what here is set}as translated in 1606E}.

129.9. On the left part of the door

129.10. To C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, their well beloved citizen, who having been consul, augur and born all offices in the wars, a famous orator, poet and historiographer. [He has] most eloquently written about the worthy recommendation of Traianus the emperor, bestowed many favours and bounties on his native country, gracing it with eternal credit. The state of Como for these benefits placed this monument here on the first of May in the year 1498.

129.11. {as translated in 1606E{At home in peace, abroad in war, each office have I borne:

129.12. I lived, I died, and still I live as yet}as translated in 1606E}.

129.13. {1592L, not in 1602G{But why should I not add to this the words of the same Plinius from his {not in 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S{second}not in 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S} book to Caninius writing like this? Do you study? Do you fish? Or do you do both at our lake? For you can do all these things at our lake, since it yields plenty of fish, the woods around it plenty of deer, [and] the seclusion of the place gives great opportunities to study. The same author, in his 4th Epistle to *Licinius Sura* has a story of a certain strange spring not far from this lake}1592L, not in 1602G}{1608/1612I only{which flows on the East side of the city, at a distance of about eight miles}1608/1612I only}.

129.14. Paulus Iovius has excellently described this lake and city named after it in a specific treatise from which we have taken this map of ours. {1579L(A){Moreover, Cassiodorus in his second book of *Varieties* to Gaudiosus has most exactly depicted the same}1579L(A)}. {1570L(BC, not in A) {Benedictus Iovius}1570L(BC, not in A)} {1579L(A) as Porcacchius}1579L(A)} has/have written the histories of *Como*. {1570L(ABC){Read also Dominicus Niger's *Geographia*, and Leander's *Italia*. 1570L(BC), 1571L, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I, 1609/1612L & 1609/1612/1641S end their *Como* text here.} 1570L(A, not BC) & 1571L/1572GKoler only{so well that you do not seem to read it, but to see it with your eyes}1570L(A, not BC) & 1571L/1572GKoler only}.

[Note that the order in which authors are mentioned in this paragraph differs from one edition to the next].

129.14a. {1570L(ABC), 1571L & 1571L/1572GKoler only, not in 1573L(AB) and later{FORVM IVLII.

- 129.14b. The origin of the name *Fori Iulii* is differently told by different authors, according to Leander. Some say it originates from Julius Cæsar {1571L/1572GKoler instead{Emperor Julius}1571L/1572GKoler instead}. Blondus says that it seems to have been named after the city *Foroiulio*. It has also been called the land of *Aquileya* (after its main city), as has been proved by ancient inscriptions. The Venetians, (to which it belongs) also call the end of it *Patria*, which is a name used till the present day. Its location is as follows: one side of it borders on the sea, but soon it rises up with mountains which grow in height, enclosing it to such an extent that they form a mountain ridge providing it with the shape of a natural amphitheatre. There is one narrow passage, like a gate, through which the river *Sonti* reaches it, coming from *Tarvisio*. For the rest, the Alps block all outlets to such an extent that there is no access unless by its port or through the mountain valleys or over their tops. It has various ports.
- 129.14c. There are many beautiful and fertile fields here, watered and irrigated, where good wine is grown, among which a variety highly praised by Plinius, called *Pucinum* after the city where it grows. This I take from Leandrus, in whose writings you may read more about it. See also Blondus & Ioannes Candidus in his *History on Aquileya*{1570L(ABC), 1571L & 1571L/1573GKoler only end here, not in 1573L(AB) and later}.
- 129.15. {1570L(ABC)}{The territories {1606E only{and liberties}1606E only} of the City of Rome.
- 129.16. As regards the city of Rome (once the empress of the world) and its liberties, because this place cannot contain as elaborate a description as its dignity deserves, it is better to say nothing at all about it than to say little. [Therefore] I think it best only to list those famous authors who have written at length about it and to refer [the reader] to them for further satisfaction. Of whom the more ancient ones are Q. Fabius Pictor, Sextus Rufus and Publius Victor.
- 129.17. Of the modern writers Blondus in his *Italia*, Fabius Calvus of Ravenna, Bartholomæus Marlianus, {not in 1570L(ABC), 1571L/1572GKoler & 1602G{Andreas Fulvius}not in 1570L(ABC), 1571L/1572GKoler & 1602G}, Georgius Fabritius, Lucius Faunus, Andreas Palladius, Pyrrhus Ligorius and Lucius Maurus. {1601L, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I & 1609/1612L only{And very recently Io. Iacobus Boissartus}1601L, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I & 1609/1612L only}. Iacobus Mazocchi has collected and published his old epigrams, {1592L, not in 1602G{Fulvius Ursinus [has written about its] noble houses}1592L, not in 1602G} and Ulysses Aldroandus [about] its statues. Hubertus Goltzius, with as much art as diligence, and with great expenses, has expressed in the form of a book the table of his *Fasti*{1570L(AB), 1571L/1572GKoler, 1579L(AB), 1584L, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L & 1609/1612L end their *Roma* text here}, {1580/1589G, not in 1584L, 1592L, 1595L & 1609/1612L{most cunningly cut in copper}1580/1589G, not in 1584L, 1592L, 1595L & 1609/1612L, which end their *Roma* text here}. {1570L(C), 1571L, 1573L(AB), 1574L & 1575L only{We have published an image of the entire area in our map of the Roman Empire [a large two sheet map of the Roman empire published separately in 1571, later reduced to Ort187] when it was at its most flourishing period}1570L(C), 1571L, 1573L(AB), 1574L & 1575L only; 1570L(C) & 1571L end their *Rome* text here}. {1608/1612I only{and most of all the famous Lipsius in his book on the Roman greatness, summarised by Philip Pigafetta

in his Tuscany. But the region of the city of Rome has been described best of all by Giovanni Georgio Trissino, a lord from Vicentino, in the 18th book of his Heroic Poem on the liberation of Italy from the Goths}1608/1612I only, Italian text ends here}.

{1573L(AB), 1574L & 1575L only{Look for FORI IULII above at page 42, where a separate map of it is presented, as obtained from Ioannis Sambucus}1573L(AB), 1574L & 1575L only which end here}.

Since the texts in the vernacular editions differ considerably from the one given above, a separate translation of them is presented here, deriving from the 1571/1573 Dutch, 1572/1573 German, 1572/1574 French, 1581 French, 1587 French, 1598 French and 1598/1610/1613 Dutch editions:

129.18. {1571/1573D & 1598/1610/1613D only{The Sea or}1571/1573D & 1598/1610/1613D only}
{1571/1573D{Lake of Como.

129.19. Larius Lacus is what the name of this lake used to be, after a kind of bird that you find here many of, which is called in Greek Larus and in Latin Fulica, and in Dutch, Waterhoen [Moor hen] (as some think) {1572/1573G has instead{in German Wasserhuhn}1572/1573G instead} {1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only{and in French Poulle d'eau}1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only}. This is a very pleasant lake, about 60 Italian miles long, at its widest six miles wide, and at its narrowest point one mile. It is surrounded by fertile mountains, with in the middle, so to speak, a valley full of water.

129.20. On the mountain tops there are forests of chestnut trees, on the slopes vineyards and olive groves. At the foot of the mountains there are wood groves and bushes, with much game, so that there is always plenty of hunting and fowling. At the bank of the lake there are manor houses and castles, and in the lake a variety of good fish. Don't you think that this is a pleasant place to live in, shaped by nature?

129.21. At the end of the lake, on the South side lies the main city, called Como, (which belongs to the duchy of Milan) from which the lake derives its name. This city resembles a round lobster, sticking its front shears into the water, its body still being on the ground. The land around this city is so fertile in all kinds of fruits that it seems that it has been built as a playground (since the air is also fresh and healthy), fit for enjoying pleasure.

129.22. {not in 1587F & 1598F; Frioul is discussed after Rome in 1572/1574F & 1581F}Frioul.

129.23. This land is called Frioul after its Latin name Forum Iulij. The Venetians, (to which it belongs) also call it Patria. It has also in former times been called the land of Aquileya (after its main city). One side of it borders on the sea, on the other side it is enclosed by a circle of mountains, providing it with the shape of a natural amphitheatre. Thus one can only reach this land by sea, or via some narrow roads winding through the mountain range.

129.24. There are many beautiful and fertile fields here, where good wine is grown, among which a variety highly praised by Plinius which he calls Pucinum after the city where it grows, which is now called Prosecho, {1571/1573D, 1581F & 1598/1610/1613D & only{and in Dutch this wine is called Reynvael}1571/1573D, 1581F & 1598/1610/1613D only}. There are also mines of quicksilver here. The main cities here are Aquileya and Udine. This Udine

is a big city, five Italian miles in circumference, with in the middle a hill with a strong castle. Aquileya is an ancient city, formerly with 120,000 inhabitants. It is a Patriarchy, first founded by St. Marcus, as they say. Below Aquileya there is an island in the sea with a city on it called Grado. There they still preserve the ivory chair of St. Marcus, with great reverence}not in 1587F & 1598F}. In 1572/1574F & 1581F Friuli follows the Rome section}.

129.25. The area of Rome.

129.26. It is very difficult to say something about this land and about the city of Rome in the middle of it, which in former times subdued the entire world with courage and knowledge, in only a few words. Therefore, we prefer to be silent about it rather than to describe it in an insufficient manner. And we advise the reader to turn to those authors who have devoted entire books to it. In this year we have also drawn up and published a map of the monarchy or empire of this city, [large separate two-sheet map of the Roman empire published, model for Ort187] on which you can see how far and wide it ruled (when it was in its period of greatest flourishing)}1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F & 1598/1610/1613D end here}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in these texts:

Aldroandus, Ulysses 129.17 (1570)
 Blondus: Italia 129.17 (1570), 129.14b (1570), 129.14c (1570)
 Boissartus, Ioannes Iacobus 129.17 (1601)
 Cæsar, Iulius 129.14b (1570)
 Calvus, Fabius of Ravenna 129.17 (1570)
 Candidus, Ioannes: History of Aquileya 129.14c (1570)
 Cassiodorus: Bk.2 Ch.35-36 Variar. 129.4 (1595), : Bk.2 Varieties to Gaudiosus 129.14 (1579)
 Fabricius, Georgius 129.17 (1570)
 Faunus, Lucius 129.17 (1570)
 Fulvius, Andreas 129.17 (1570)
 Golzius, Hubertus 129.17 (1570)
 Iovius, Benedictus: History of Como 129.14 (1571)
 Iovius, Paulus is mentioned in the cartouche of the Lake Como map as its maker, Ort129a (1570); further in map text 129.14 (1570), 129.19 (1571D)
 Leander: Italia 129.14 (1570), 129.14b (1570), 129.14c (1570)
 Ligorius, Pyrrhus 129.17 (1570)
 Lipsius: On Roman Greatness 129.17 (1608 only)
 Marlianus, Bartholomæus 129.17 (1570)
 Maurus, Lucius 129.17 (1570)
 Mazocchi, Iacobus: Epigrams 129.17 (1570)
 Niger, Dominicus: Geography 129.14 (1570)
 Palladius, Andreas 129.17 (1570)
 Pictor, Quintus Fabius 129.16 (1570)
 Pigafetta, Filippo: On Tuscany 129.17 (1608 only)

Plinius, Cæcilius Secundus 129.4 (1571), 129.6 (1570), 129.7 (1606), 129.10 (1570), 129.14c (1570), 129.24 (1571D); : Bk.2 Caninius 129.13 (1592), : 4th Epistle to Licinus Sura 129.13 (1592)
 Porcacchius, Thomas: History of Como 129.14 (1579)
 Rufus, Sextus 129.16 (1570)
 Sambucus, Ioannes 129.17 (1573)
 Strabo 129.3 (1570)
 Trissino, Giovanni Georgio: Heroic Poem on the liberation from the Goths 129.17 (1608 only)
 Ursinus, Fulvius 129.17 (1592)
 Victor, P. 129.16 (1570)

3.2.5 Ort150, Hungary

Title: HVNGARLÆ DESCRIPTIO, WOLFGANGO LAZIO AVCT. Cum priuilegio.
 [A depiction of Hungary by Wolfgang Lazius. With privilege].

Text of 6 lines in hills along the Danube, left of cattle: VERTHES mons hungaricè BATON | germanicè den Schiltberg.quod Henri: | cum III imp. istic castrametatum re: | ferunt contra Belam Hungariae Regè, | famèq. pressum relictis scutis castra | deseruisse. [Mount Verthes, in Hungarian called Baton, in German Schiltberg, because, as the story goes, Emperor Henricus III had pitched his camp here against king Bela of Hungary, and was forced by hunger to give up this camp, leaving his shields behind].

Vignette left of calipers and mile scale: Hungaricæ uoces | quomodo legendæ sunt. | CH litteræ in vocibus | Hungaricis CZ. S, littera | pro SCH. Z, littera pro | S simplici, in vocibus | Hungaricis. W, litte: | ram in fine pro | VY. [How to read Hungarian. The letters CH sound in Hungarian as CZ. The S is the letter for SCH. The Z is the letter for simple S in Hungarian. Finally, the W is the letter standing for VY].

Plate size: 355 x 500 mm

Scale: 1 : 3,000,000

Identification number: Ort150 (Koeman/Meurer: 42, Karrow: 1/62, VdKrogAN: 1800:31A).

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

1570L(AC)42 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 7 lines above it: *gariæ aquis opusculum.*),

1570L(B)42 (100 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: *opusculum.*),

1571L42 (275 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: *opusculum.*),

1571L/1572GKoler42 (few copies printed) (last line, mostly in Gothic script like the entire text, left aligned: *auch Georgius VVernherus ein Büchlein von den wunderbaren Wassern des Ungerlandes geschriben.*),

1571/1573D42 (350 copies printed) (last line, in cursive script, centred like 2 lines above it: *Leest van dit Landt, Bonfinium, Broderith, ende Wernherum.*),

1572/1573G42 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it: *danck sagen wurd. Liset Bonfinium, Broderith, vnd Werherum, von disem Land.*),

1572/1574F42 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 3 lines above it: *vousist rendre vn grand mercy. Lisez de ce pays Bonfin, Broderith, & Wernher.*),

1573L(A)56 (40 copies printed) (last line, centred like 4 lines above it: *aquis opusculum.*),

1573L(B)56 (40 copies printed) (last line, centred like 4 lines above it: Hungariæ aquis opusculum.),

1574L56 (175 copies printed) (large page number, 11 mm; title followed by small round dot; 14th textline ends: Balaton ; last line, centred like 5 lines above it: Hungariæ aquis opusculum.),

1575L56 (100 copies printed) (small page number, 7 mm; title followed by heavy diamond-shaped dot; 14th line ends: Balaton, ; last line, centred like 5 lines above it: opusculum),

1579L(A)76 (250 copies printed) (last line, centred like three lines above it: Hungariæ aquis opusculum.),

1579L(B)76 (250 copies printed) (last line, centred like two lines above it: herus de admirandis Hungariæ aquis opusculum.),

1580/1589G76 (350 copies printed) (last line, centred like 5 lines above it, in Gothic script: geschriben.),

1581F76 (400 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: rith,& VVernher.),

1584L83 (750 copies printed) (last line, centred like two lines above it: mirandis Hungariæ aquis opusculum.),

1587F83 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: pays Bonfin , Broderith , & Wernher.),

1588S83 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: aguas de.Hungria.),

1592L90 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: gius VVernherus de admirandis Hungariæ aquis opusculum.),

1595L95 (500 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: gius VVernherus de admirandis Hungariæ aquisopusculum.),

1598/1610/1613D66 (100 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: rich,ende Wernherum),

1598F96 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: pays Bonfin,Broderith,& Wernher.),

1601L95 (200 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Scripsit & Georg Wernherus de Admirandis Hungariæ aquis opusculum.),

1602G98 (250 copies printed) (last line, centred like 5 lines above it, in Gothic script like the entire text: landt/geschriben.),

1602S98 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: ge Wernhero vn opusculo de las marauillosas aguas de Hungria.),

1603L98 (300 copies printed) (text, but not pagenummer and typesetting, identical to 1609/1612L; last line, left aligned: Scripsit & Georgius VVernherus de Admirandis Hungariæ aquis opusculum.),

1606E95 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: tract of the strange waters of *Hungary*.),

1608/1612I107, (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: trouato presente.),

1609/1612L108, (last line, left aligned: text, but not page number and typesetting, identical to 1603L; Scripsit & Georgius VVernherus de Admirandis Hungariæ aquis opusculum.),

1609/1612/1641S108 (325 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: de Hungria.).

Approximate number of copies printed: 8175.

States: 150.1 as described above.

150.2: from 1572F onwards, circle and strapwork in the lower cartouche decorated with framing and stippling. The right hand small square in circle of lower cartouche stippled.

- 150.3: from 1574L onwards, lines of the bridge *Pontis Traiani* over the Danube, lower right, connected. Rivers more prominently shaded. *Balaton lacus* and *Echeyd lacus* stippled. Compasses over *Scala/Milliarum Hun-/garicorum* re-engraved with more detail.
- 150.4: from 1579L(B) onwards shading of hills left of compasses re-engraved with horizontal lines. Stippling extends into between the words *Balaton lacus*.
- 150.5: from 1598F onwards horizontal shading in the top fold of the Hungarian coat of arms. Until 1664 there are no further changes.
- 150.6: totally reworked. Two additional cartouches with Dutch texts, both dated 1664 and signed by Ioan Gall. It is depicted in *Cartographica Hungarica* vol I. p. 36, 1992.

Cartographic sources: Lazius 1556 5-sheet wall map (Karrow 49/7, p. 338, Meurer p. 182-183). In the *Catalogus Auctorum* Ortelius mentions various other authors who made a Hungary map, viz. Georgius Tanesterus Collimitus or Georg Tanstetter in 1522, after Lazarus. Ioannes Cuspinianus added various features, and Apianus published it in 1528. Lazius revised this map in 1552. Ortelius also mentions in the *Catalogus Auctorum* Hungary maps by Matthias Cinthius or Zyndt of Nurnberg 1567, Jacobus Gastaldi and Ioannes Sambucus.

References: Gróf, L, 1979, p. 2-11; Gróf, L, 1992, pp. 26-36.

Remarks: rules for Hungarian consonant pronunciation of place names in lower cartouche.

Text, scholarly version (translated from the 1570L(ABC), 1571L, 1571L/1572GKoler, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I, 1609/1612L and 1609/1612/1641S editions):

150.1. {1570L(ABC)}{HUNGARY.

- 150.2. Hungary (which was certainly named like that after the Huns or Hungari, a people who came from Scythia {1608/1612I only{or Tartaria}1608/1612I only}, who now live there) contains almost all [of] the two Pannonies, {not in 1580/1589G & 1602G{the countries of the Iaziges}not in 1580/1589G & 1602G} on the other side of the Danube, {1580/1589G & 1602G only{the Siebenbürger}1580/1589G & 1602G only} and the region of the Daci, {1606E only{now including Transsylvania, Walachria and Moldavia}1606E only}. In the South it begins at the river Drava, in the North it is bound by the Sarmatians {1606E only{of Europe,}1606E only} now called Poles, and the Goths whom we call Walachrians. In the West it has Austria, once the head of higher Pannonia, [and] in the East it is confined by Mysia which at this day they call Rhetiana {1571L/1572GKoler instead{Retina}1571L/1572GKoler instead}{1608/1612I instead{Rascia}1608/1612I instead}.
- 150.3. The Danube, of all the rivers of Europe the greatest, runs through the middle of it, and so divides it into two parts, Lower and the Farther [Hungary]. Lower Hungary is that [part] which was formerly the {1606E only{Upper and Lower}1606E only} Pannonies. This is separated from the Farther Hungary by the river Danube {1606E instead{Drava}1606E instead}, from Austria and Bayern by the foot of the mountain

- range Cæcius {not in 1606E{as it was once called}not in 1606E}, from Slavonia by the Drava, [and] by [the river] Save from Bosnia and Rascia.
- 150.4. The main and chief city of this lower area is Buda {1571L/1572G instead{Ofen}1571L/1572GKoler instead}, {1606E only{([as] they often call it)}1606E only}, the imperial seat of their kings. Other towns of great significance are Alba Regalis {1571L/1572GKoler, 1580/1589G, 1602G & 1606E instead(Stulweissenburg)}1580/1589G, 1602G & 1606E instead}, famous for the coronation and tombs of their kings, then the metropole of Strigonium {1606E only{(Graun),}1606E only}, then the {1606E only{metropole and arch-}1606E only}bishops see Quinquecclesiæ {1571L/1572GKoler, 1580/1589G, 1602G & 1606E only{(Fünfkirchen}1571L/1572GKoler, 1580/1589G, 1602G & 1606E only}, {1606E only{(the Turks call it Petschau, a bishopric),}1606E only}, then Sopronium, Taurinum {1606E only{(the Germans call it Griechweissenburg, the Hungarians Nandor-Fejérvár, the Italians Belgrado)}1606E only}, Sabaria {1606E only{(Zombatel or Szombath-ely),}1606E only} the place where St. Martinus was born, and Strido {1571L/1572GKoler & 1606E only{(Strigna)}1571L/1572GKoler & 1606E only} the native town of St. Hieronymus.
- 150.5. It has many excellent rivers and two very famous lakes, Balaton and Fertou. Next to this part of lower Hungary, on the other side of the river Drava, is Slavonia, {not in 1571L/1572GKoler{once a part of upper Pannonia}not in 1571L/1572GKoler} lying between the rivers Save and Drava, although it extends far beyond the [river] Save as far as the river Huna (for that is how it is now called) where Croatia begins.
- 150.6. After that follows Dalmatia, which lies along the Adriatic coast, partly subject to the Turk[s], partly to the Venetian[s]. The smaller part is now under the king of Hungary. The inland country is inhabited by the Bosnians and the Rascians who in ancient times were called Upper Moesi. The main city of Slavonia is Zagreb, [and] of Croatia it is now Bigontina, but in former days Fumium was its chief [city].
- 150.7. The Farther Hungary or Hungary beyond the Danube is separated from Moravia, Silesia, Poland Russia by the Carpathian mountains {1606E only{(now by the Germans called Schneeberg),}1606E only} which begin above Posonium {1606E only{(Presburg)}1606E only} and from there in long windings pass through this country until they end at the Euxine [Black] Sea {1606E only{or Mar maiore}1606E only} at that place where there is the country now called Maromarusia.
- 150.8. Other mountains and woods separate it from Transsylvania and Walachia transalpina, from that place bending towards Severinum, {1606E only{a city situated on the Donau}1606E only}. The river Tibiscus [Thisza], well provided with different sorts of fish, coming from the mountains of *Maromarusia*, runs through the middle part of Farther Hungary.
- 150.9. This Hungary has many excellent towns, [such] as {not in 1606E{in the North} not in 1606E} Posonium {1606E only{(Presburg),}1606E only} and Tirnavia {1606E only{(Dijru) in the West}1606E only} &c. In the South [there are] Colocia, Bachia, Szeged {1606E only{(Zeged)}1606E only} &c. Further [there are] beyond the river Tibiscus [Thisza] Varadinum, Debreczen &c., where there are also gold and silver mines. At Severin there are yet to be seen the remnants of a bridge, ordered to be built a long time ago by Traianus the Emperor, and other towns and things worth remembering,

- which the limited space in our discussion forces me to omit {1571L/1572G Koler instead {if the Turk does not prohibit me from telling this} 1571L/1572G Koler instead}.
- 150.10. The inhabitants speak the Scythian language, a tongue very different from any language spoken by any of their neighbours around them. It is inferior to no country in the world as regards valiant and stout men, herds of cattle, fertility of the soil and rich veins of metal. And for the temperature of its air, [and its] wholesome and pleasant location, it may justly be preferred to any [country] in the world {1606E instead {that I know} 1606E instead} whatsoever.
- 150.11. For the earth is plentifully provided by nature with all kinds of necessary and commodious things: gold, silver, salt, precious stones, [and] minerals for colouring are here dug up in great abundance. It yields a lot of corn, food for cattle, vegetables, apples {1606E & 1608/1612I only {and [other] fruits of various sorts} 1606E & 1608/1612I only}. They have many rivers full of fresh fish. They [also] have great quantities of copper.
- 150.12. In most of their rivers they find certain traces of the best and finest gold; yes, even from their vines (such is the nature of this golden soil) they extract quantities of gold.
- 150.13. This we have collected from the small booklet by Stephanus Broderith and [from] the Decades on Hungary written by Antonius Bonfinius, to whom the studious reader may have recourse. Let him also read {1579L, not in 1580/1589G & 1602G {Herbersteins Commentaries on Moscovy, [as also]} 1579L, not in 1580/1589G & 1602G} Matthias á Michou the Sarmatian, {1573L {and Cuspinianus} 1573L} {1595L, not in 1602G, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S {in his Oratio Protrepica} 1595L, not in 1602G, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S}, {1573L {and [also] his Austria,} 1573L} and Münster, {1588S, not in 1602G {and particularly the abridgement of the histories of Hungary written by Peter Ranzanus} 1588S}, {1592L {who, among other strange wonders which he lists about this country, says, {1606E only {if you are willing to believe him} 1606E only}, that he has seen many golden branches and twigs of vines, some as long as ones finger, others half a foot long} 1592L, not in 1602G}. George Wernher has written a small work about the strange waters of Hungary} 1570L(ABC), 1571L, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E, 1609/1612L & 1609/1612/1641S end here}. {1608/1612I only {Finally, [read] the history about the siege of Győr, and the defeat of Canisa, which concerns all of Hungary with all its regions but particularly those that are beyond the rivers Danube, Drava & Mur, [by] Philippo Pigafetta, with its two lakes, and the capital city, and the strongholds which can be found along the border} 1608/1612I only}.

[Since the 1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598/1610/1613D and 1598F texts differ considerably from the one given above, they will be presented separately below as the vernacular version of the Hungary text.]

150.14. {1571/1573D {Hungary.

150.15. Hungary was once called Lower Pannonia, (according to some), and hence its inhabitants were called Pannonnes. These have been expelled by the Goths. After the Goths, the Huns or Huyns, who have their origin in Scythia, took possession of it. After

- that the Longobards had it. But the Huns recaptured it from them. And these have remained there until the present day, and have given this country its name.
- 150.16. The river Danube traverses this country, and divides it into two parts. After which this part is called Hungary below the Danube and that part Hungary above the Danube. In this [lower] part Buda is situated, the capital where the Kings (before the Turks took possession of it) had their seat. This was a wonderful and pleasant city (as Georgius Wernher writes), because of its splendid location, clean air, and fertile fields, so that he concludes that there is hardly a city in Europe that is equal to it, because it has so many royal buildings, such an abundance of all kinds of things bringing splendour and pleasure, that it was a wonder.
- 150.17. Then there is Stulweissenburg, where the kings are crowned, and where many have been buried. Then Gran, an archbishopric, Raab, Strido where the renowned St. Hieronymus was born and many others. It has two large lakes, Balaton and Fertou. Hungary beyond the Danube is divided into two parts by the river Tibiscus [Thisza], teeming with fish. Here are the following cities: Pressburg, Tirnau, Colocza, Szeged, Varadin, Debreczen, &c. Further Severin on the Danube, which still shows the ruins or dilapidated remains of a wonderful stone bridge, which Traianus ordered to be built across the river, but which was destroyed by Hadrianus, the Emperor who succeeded him. And more other cities, too many to mention here.
- 150.18. To this kingdom of Hungary also belong Slavonia (or Windisch-land), Crabaten and Dalmatia which lies at the Venetian sea and of which one part now belongs to the Venetians, and the other to the Turks, so that the King of Hungary only has a small part of it. The capital of Slavonia is Zagreb. Of Crabaten the capital is Bigithon. The inhabitants of Hungary speak the Scythian language, which is very different from all the languages around it.
- 150.19. This Hungary is not inferior to any country in the world as regards strong and brave men, abundance of its animals, fertility of soil, nor in mines of all kinds of metal. Thus, in terms of its healthy air, and good properties of the land it is better than any other country (according to Bonfinius) of the world. It is a country provided with all gifts of nature. One digs here gold, silver, copper, precious stones, salt and various dyes. In some rivers one finds gold dust, yes, even pieces as large as chestnuts, hazelnuts or acorns, says Wernher.
- 150.20. Yes, it is miraculous to say, one finds in some places gold in the vineyards, that is, in those planted in the mountains or the fields which have gold mines underneath. Here grows such noble wine, that it may be compared to malvesey [strong wine from Crete] (so it seems to us). It is so full of game that nobody forbids the hunting of hares, deer, pheasants, partridges (otherwise the joy of noblemen), but which here is daily fare for farmers and commoners. All kinds of fruits abound here. It is so full of oxen and sheep that its feeds almost all of Lombardy with them. In Vienna alone yearly more than 80,000 oxen are passing through, which are exported from there to various parts of Germany.
- 150.21. Truly, with great admiration we ourselves have seen the multitude of animals which are sold once a week by heydocks outside the city of Vienna, fields which cannot be surveyed, all filled with their cattle. Heydocks they call there the kind of people who come from Hungary with this cattle, strong people who can withstand poverty. They are

with their animals in the field day and night, and sleep in carts they bring with them. They have a leather bag hanging over their shoulder under their arm, which contains their food. Their high shoes are made of ox-hide, with the hair on the outside, which they wrap around their legs, and they tie them to their legs in such a manner that it resembles a tied bag, and when the strings are worn out, they will remove them and replace them by new ones of the same material and shape.

150.22. For whoever has not seen it, it is truly incredible how much fish they have. The river Tibiscus (called Teissa [Tisza] by the inhabitants), as their saying goes, is filled for two thirds with water, and for one third with fish. Not that this is entirely true, but they want to demonstrate in this way how incredible an amount of fish there is. Whoever walks along the bank of this river, particularly on a hot summer day, has the strong impression of smelling fish all the time. To summarise, the waters of this land are so full of fish that they cannot be sold there, yes, hardly anyone can be found who would show gratitude for being given some fish. Read more about this country in Bonfinius, Broderith and Wernherus]1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F & 1598/1610/1613D end here.}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in this text:

Bonfinius, Antonius: Decades of Hungary 150.13 (1570), 150.19 (1571D), 150.22 (1571D)
 Broderith, Stephanus 150.13 (1570), 150.22 (1571D)
 Cuspinianus: Oratio Protreptica 150.13 (1573), : Austria 150.13 (1595)
 Herberstein: Commentaries on Moscovy 150.13 (1579)
 Hieronymus, Saint 150.17 (1571D)
 Lazius is mentioned in the cartouche of this maps a its maker, Ort150 (1570)
 Matthias à Michou of Sarmatia 150.13 (1570)
 Münster 150.13 (1570)
 Ranzane, Peter: Abridged Histories of Hungary 150.13 (1588)
 Wernher, Georgius: The strange waters of Hungary 150.13 (1570), 150.16 (1571D), 150.19 (1571D), 150.22 (1571D)

3.2.6 Ort160, Northern Regions

Title: SEP|TEN|TRI|ONA|LIVM RE|GIONVM | DESCRIP. [A depiction of the Northern regions].

Lower right: Cum priuilegio. [with privilege]

Centre top: Pigmei hic | habitant [Here live the Pygmees].

Plate size: 362 x 486 mm

Scale: 1 : 10,000,000

Identification number: Ort160 (Koeman/Meurer: 45, Karrow: 1/65, vdKrogt: 1200:31)

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

- 1570L(AC)45 (225 copies printed) (41 lines; last line, centred like 6 lines above it: *Italicè scriptum.*, one but last line: *nec non Nicolao Michaëlis.*),
- 1570L(B)45 (100 copies printed) (40 lines, last line, left aligned: *eo & Christofero Fiorauante,nec non Nicolao Michaëlis Italicè scriptum.*),
- 1571L45 (275 copies printed) (identical with 1570LB; last line, left aligned: *eo & Christofero Fiorauante,nec non Nicolao Michaëlis Italicè scriptum.*),
- 1571L/1572GKoler (few copies printed) (last line, mostly in Gothic script like the entire text, left aligned: *ria Item den Schiffbruch Petri Quirini, von ime/Christophoro Fierouante, und Nicolao Michaelis in Italianischer Sprach beschrieben.*),
- 1571/1573D45 (350 copies printed) (last line, in cursive script, centred like 3 lines above it: *hysc bewaert ende weder thuys-gebracht hadde,ghedanckt.etc.*),
- 1572/1573G45 (225 copies printed) (last line, cursive like the entire text, centred like two lines above it: *umb das er sie bewart vnd wider umb haim geholfen,gelobt,&c.*),
- 1572/1574F45 (225 copies printed) (*qu'il luy auoir pleu les garder & ramener sain & sauf en leur maison.*),
- 1573L(A)60 (40 copies printed) (title: SCANDIA | siue | REGIONES SEPTEN: | TRIONALES. Last line, centred like 3 lines above it: *non Nicolao Michaëlis, Italicè scripta.*),
- 1573L(B)60 (40 copies printed) (title: SCANDIA | siue | REGIONES SEPTEN | TRIONALES. Last line, centred like 3 lines above it: *Fiorauante, necnon Nicolao Michaëlis, Italicè scriptum.*),
- 1574L60 (175 copies printed) (large page number, viz. 11 mm; title: SCANDIA | siue | REGIONES SEPTEN- | TRIONALES. ; last line, centred like 3 lines above it: *non Nicolao Michaëlis, Italicè scripta. 29th line from top ends: Insulā ; 10th line from bottom ends: frigidissi-*),
- 1575L60 (100 copies printed) (small page number, viz. 7 mm, last line, centred like 3 lines above it: *non Nicolao Michaëlis,Italicè scripta.*; 29th line from top ends: *Insulam ; 10th line from bottom ends: frigidissi-* ; this edition comes in three text versions: one has as its title SCANDIA | siue|REGIONES | SEPTENTRIONALES. ; the second has SCANDIA | SIVE REGIONES SEPTEN-/TRIONALES. ; the third has SCANDIA |SIVE | REGIONES SEPTEN-|TRIONALES. This last version has as last line, left aligned: *chaëlis, Italicèscripta.*),
- 1579L(A)81 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, like entire text in cursive script: *Petri Quirini,ab eo & Christofero Fiorauante,nec non Nicolao Michaëlis, Italicè scripta.* ; page number 81 positioned below *& nauf* of one but last text line.),
- 1579L(B)81 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, like entire text in cursive script: *Petri Quirini,ab eo & Christofero Fiorauante,nec non Nicolao Michaëlis, Italicè scripta.* ; page number 81 positioned below *scripta* of last text line.),
- 1580/1589G81 (350 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, partly in Gothic script: *Christophoro Fiorauante und Nicolao Michaëlis in Italianischer Spraach beschriben werden.*),
- 1581F81 (400 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *der & ramener sain & sauf en leur maison.*),
- 1584L90 (750 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in cursive script like the whole text: *Petri Quirini, ab eo & Christofero Fiorauante,nec non Nicolao Michaëlis,Italicè scripta.*),
- 1587F90 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *net sain&sauf en leur maison.*),

1588S90 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: uante,y Nicolas Michaelis escrito en Italiano.),
 1592L97 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in cursive script: *eo & Christofero Fiorauante,nec non Nicolao Michaëlis, Italicè scripta.*),
 1595L102 (500 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: nica nuper à Dauide Chytræo conscripta & edita.),
 1598F103 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: &saufs en leurs maisons.),
 1598/1610/1613D71 (100 copies printed) (last line, in Gothic script, left aligned: den Bisschop vertrocken hebben;ende Gode dat hyse bewaert ende weder t'huys gebracht hadde gedanckt/etc.),
 1601L102 (200 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: nino his adhibenda Historia Saxonica nuper à Dauide Chytræo conscripta & edita.),
 1602G105 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in Gothic script like the entire text: Christophoro Fiorouante/und Nicolao Michaelis in Italianischer Spraach beschriben werden.),
 1602S105 (250 copies printed) (last line, full width: lâno 1557. Pero sobre todo conuiene aqui añadir la Historia Saxonica,poco ha escrita, y facada a luz, por Dauid Chytræo.),
 1603L105 (300 copies printed) (text, but not typesetting and page number, identical with 1609/1612L; last line, left aligned: nempe 1557. Sed omnino his adhibenda Historia Saxonica nuper à Dauide Chytræo conscripta & edita.),
 1606E102 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: to be forgotten.),
 1608/1612I14 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: modo aggiunger alle cose predette l'istoria di Sassonia poco ha diuolgata , & composta da Dauid Chitreo.),
 1609/1612L115 (300 copies printed) (text, but not page number and typesetting, identical with 1603L; last line, left aligned: nempe 1557.Sed omnino his adhibenda Historia Saxonica nuper à Dauide Chytræo conscripta & edita.),
 1609/1612/1641S115 (325 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Chytræo.).

Approximate total number of copies printed: 8175

States: 160.1 light and small hachuring along coastlines. Misspelling of *Narva* as *Narna* and of *Narva fl.* as *Narna fl.* The dot over the second i in *Livonia* is lacking.
 160.2: from 1575L above mistakes corrected. Further stronger, more extended hachuring along coastlines particularly in the Channel. Dot on second i in *Livonia* has been added.
 160.3: from 1584L onwards figures and ships re-engraved. The small flags at the very top of the ships two masts are now almost dark on the right hand side. The sphinx figure on top of cartouche now has horizontal stripes on the ornament extending from the root of her wing.
 160.4 from 1592L onwards eight names added along top right coastline of North Pole island.
 160.5: from 1598D onwards stippling added behind sea lettering.
 Plate damage to border line upper right next to *Mosa* and *Piesza fl.* Slightly visible in 1595L, clearly visible in 1598F.
 160.6 from 1601L onwards, right edge of plate trimmed because of the damage of state 5, and new horizontal stripes of 5 mm, where they used to be 7 mm. Frame re-engraved.
 From 1610D onwards, unintentional state, chip of 1x3 mm broke off upper right corner.

Cartographic sources: many. Magnus 1539, Zeno as reported by Ramusius 1561, Jenkinson 1562, Mercator 1564, 1569, (Karrow 56/17, p. 392, Meurer p. 36). Brandmair mentions Ziegler 1532.

Remarks: When this map appeared it was probably the best one of the Scandinavian area so far. Note the fantasy islands Friesland and St. Brandain. Iceland and Greenland are highly distorted and too near to each other.

Surprisingly, some copies from the 1606 English edition, including the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* Skelton facsimile of this edition, have the untrimmed 160.5 state. Therefore, its prints must have been made possibly before 1601 or certainly before 1603, but most copies of 1606E show the trimmed version.

Some of the above information is based on Nils Germundsson (personal communication), and also on information provided by Bill Ginsberg (personal communication). We do not agree on all features of the various different states and their dating. Notably, state 3 may or may not in fact be 2 states, the first dating from 1579, the second from 1584.

The ship occurring on this map is also depicted on the *Zelandicarum* map (Ort78), but there viewed from a different angle. Most likely, the brothers Johannes and Lucas van Doetecum were the engravers.

This map occurs on two stamps: a stamp issued by the government of Iceland in 1984 worth 40,00 Crowns. A ship to the right of Iceland has been removed to allow for the lettering of ISLAND to be inserted. The other stamp was issued by the *Faeröer* in 1975, and is much more stylized and less detailed and also smaller than the Iceland one.

References: Tooley, R.V. 1978. p. 127. Also: M. Spies, 1998, p. 303-318; Philip Burden, 1996. p. 52-53, map 40, who knows only three states. Nils G. Germundson, 2003. p. 37-46. Finally: William B. Ginsberg, 2006. p. 97-105, who did not detect state 5.

Text, scholarly version (translated from the 1570L(ABC), 1571L, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612L, 1609/1612L and 1609/1612/1641S editions):

160.1. {1570L(ABC){SCANDIA Or THE NORTHERN regions {1606E instead{kingdoms}1606E instead}.

160.2. This map contains almost the entire Northern area of the known world, but especially the Peninsula known to the old writers by these names: Scandia, Scandinavia, Baltia and Basilia, but [it was] scarcely known to them. With regard to its vastness, they called it another world, and the workshop of men, and as it were the sword-sheath from where so many nations have been drawn. {1595L, not in 1602G{But about the various names for this region, read what we have written for the map of Iceland, and also in our Treasury of Geography [Ortelius' Thesaurus], on the entry BASILIA}{1595L, not in 1602G}.

160.3. This peninsula in these, our times, contains three kingdoms, namely Norway, Sweden and Gotland, and part of the kingdom of Denmark, and many other provinces, such as Bothnia, Finmark, Finland, Lapland {1571L/1572GKoler only{or the wild

- Laps}{1571L/1572GKoler only} &c., whose various descriptions we will here present from Iacobus Zieglerus.
- 160.4. Norvegia means the Northern tract or the Northern way. This was once a most flourishing kingdom, and comprised Denmark, and Frisland with the islands adjacent to it, until the time that it became a kingdom, governed by a hereditary succession of kings. Since then it failed in line, and at the time of the [king's] vacancy, it was decided by the nobility that their kings should be chosen by elections.
- 160.5. Nowadays it is under the jurisdiction of the kings of Denmark, who do not only take the revenues and tolerable taxation lawfully due to the crown, but also grab all useful commodities, and convey all the wealth of this country to Denmark. And this is aggravated by the natural properties of the place. For all the Norwegian shipping is at the command of the king of Denmark, so that they may not without his permission go to sea, nor export their merchandise to foreign countries.
- 160.6. This kingdom, either due to temperature of the air, or the excellence of the soil, or the benefits of the sea, is of no mean importance. It exports to other parts of Europe a kind of cod-fish (Aselli) {1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S have instead{Merlu}1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S instead}, slit and hung out on wooden poles, which is then dried and hardened with frost. Therefore, the Germans call it Stockfish.
- 160.7. The best time of the year to catch this fish is in January, when the weather is coldest to dry them. Those [fish] that are caught in the months when the weather is milder, rot away, and are unfit for export. The entire sea coast of Norway is very temperate, and the sea does not freeze. The snow there is not long-lived.
- 160.8. Sweden is a kingdom rich with silver, copper, lead, iron, corn and cattle. A wonderful abundance of fish is caught here in the rivers, lakes, as well as in the main ocean. There is much game and many wild animals here. Stockholm is the king's seat and the chief market town, a city fortified both by nature and by the industry of man. It is located in a marsh, like Venice, hence its name Stockholm, being situated in waters and being built on wooden piles, {1606E only{which they call Stockes}1606E only}{1608/1612I only{as Strabo notes of Ravenna, and as they now use in Venice}1608/1612I only}.
- 160.9. Gothia, {1606E only{(Gotland)},1606E only} that is: Good Land, is subject to the king of Sweden. In it there is the harbour and market town Calmar, a great city. Here is an excellent castle, which for its large size is not inferior to that of Milan. Near Tingvalla there are mines with excellent iron. So far for Zieglerus.
- 160.10. Of Denmark {1573L(AB){and the British Isles}1573L(AB)} we will say nothing in this place, noting that we discuss them at their own maps. On this map we also see Iceland, an island {not in 1595L, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I & 1609/1612L{(by the ancients called Tyle)}not in 1595L, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I & 1609/1612L}, famous for its miracles and works of nature. The same for Greenland, another island known to very few. {1573L(AB) {Here also is Friesland, {1606E only{a third island}1606E only} altogether unknown to ancient writers. Nor is it named by the later Geographers or Hydrographers, but only by Nicolao Zeno, a Venetian who in the year of Christ 1380, tossed around by many bitter storms in this sea, shipwrecked on this island.
- 160.11. This author states that this island is subject to the king of Norway. He claims it to be larger than Ireland and says that the chief town has the same name as the island itself, and finally, that the people of this country mostly live by fishing. For in the harbour of

- this town they catch such an abundance of all sorts of fish, that from there they load entire ships with it, and transport them to other, adjacent islands.
- 160.12. The sea next to this island Westwards is full of shelves and rocks, he writes, and is called by the inhabitants Mare Icarium, Icarus sea, and an island in it, he says, is named Icaria. About the isle of Greenland he writes that the winter here lasts for nine months, and during all that time it never rains, nor does the snow which falls at the beginning of the winter ever melt, until its very end.
- 160.13. [What now follows seems to refer to Iceland, rather than to Greenland:] But it is most wonderful what he tells about the Monastery of the order of the Friar Predicants, dedicated to the honour of St. Thomas on this island, namely that there is not far from it a mountain which, like the *Ætna* {1608/1612I only{or Mongibello {1606E & 1608/1612I only{in Sicilia}1606E & 1608/1612I only} emitting huge flames of fire, and that there is at the same place a fountain with hot and scalding waters with which not only all the rooms of the monastery are heated in the manner of stoves and hot houses, but which is also used to bake and fry all kinds of bread and other food, without any other fire.
- 160.14. The entire monastery is built with a kind of hollow [porous] or light stone, cast forth by the flames of that burning mountain. These burning stones, being by nature somewhat fatty and oily, are solid and firm, but being quenched in water, they become dry, full of holes, and light. And the water with which they were quenched is turned into a sticky kind of stuff like bitumen which can be used to build with these stones, instead of mortar, And thus built, they are a good protection against the injuries of all kinds of weather.
- 160.15. Their orchards and gardens too, watered with this [kind of] water, are always green and flourish almost all year long, with all manner of flowers, kinds of corn and fruits. This priory stands at the sea shore and has a reasonably capacious and large harbour, into which the spring just mentioned empties its waters, making it so warm that it never freezes, not even in the hardest and most bitter frost.
- 160.16. There is here such an abundance of {not in 1606E & 1608/1612I{sea creatures}not in 1606E & 1608/1612I} and fish, which flock to this place from colder places that not only the monks, but also their neighbours in the area are furnished with ample provisions of victuals. These things, amongst many others, Zenus has written about these islands. He was made ruler of some islands around here by a certain Zichimus, and {not in 1580/1589G & 1602G{as high admiral of his navy}not in 1580/1589G & 1602G}, explored all these Northern coasts}1573L(AB)}.
- 160.17. {1579L{The isle of Frisland has again in our days been described on the initiative {1580/1589G & 1602G only{good fortune and reputation}1580/1589G & 1602G only} {1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S instead{industry}1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S instead} [of the] English, who call it by the new name of West England}1579L}. In old writers there are but few records on these regions. Among the more recent writers, Olaus Magnus the Goth, Episcopus Vpsaliensis [the bishop of Upsala], Albertus Crantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Iacobus Zieglerus, and Sigismundus ab Herberstein in his commentaries on Moscovia have described these countries. And Nicolaus Wimman has described a navigation of the Northern sea. See also {1573L{Antonius &}1573L} Nicolaus Zeni's {some editions wrongly have{Geni}some editions only} Commentaries, {1573L(AB)}{two brothers, speaking about the islands situated under the North pole,}1573L(AB)} together with the shipwreck of Peter Quirinus, {1571L{described

by himself}1571L}, and by Christopher Fioravante, as also by Nicolas Michaëlis in the Italian tongue}1570L(ABC), 1571L, 1571L/1572GKoler, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L & 1602G end here}.

- 160.18. {1601L{There is also a discussion on these Northern parts written by Sebastian Cabato, who, in the year 1557 first sailed into these quarters}1601L}. {1595L, not in 1602G{But above all, the history of Saxony, lately written and published by David Chytræus should not be ignored}1595L, not in 1602G. The 1595L, 1601L, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612L, 1609/1612L & 1609/1612/1641S editions end here}.

Since the vernacular texts of the 1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F & 1598/1610/1613D editions differ considerably from the text provided above, they are presented separately.

- 160.19. {1571/1573D{Nordic Lands.

160.20. With this map you have the entire Nordic world (by way of speaking), because it covers all the northern countries as far as they are known today. These are in the first place the land which the ancient geographers considered to be an island named Scandia, which in our times comprises the kingdom of Sweden, Norway and part of Denmark. Then there are these islands: England, Scotland and Ireland, Frisland, Iceland and Greenland. We will here say something about each of them.

160.21. Sweden is a country rich in silver, copper, lead and iron mines. It has an abundance of cattle. And because it has the sea on many sides, with sea arms entering deeply into the land, and also because it is full of rivers and lakes, it has a great abundance of fish. It is also very mountainous, providing much game. It is also fertile in vegetation. Its capital is Stockholm, located on the sea like Venice, hence strong, and mostly built on wooden piles. {not in 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F{This is the main merchant city of this kingdom}not in 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F}. Here the king keeps court. Uppsala is the archbishopric of this country. To this kingdom also belongs Gotland. Here lies Calmar, a merchant city, very strong because of a castle there.

160.22. The city of Vasten has a wonderful cloister, where Saint Brigitta and her daughter Saint Catherine have been buried. Further, Finland also belongs to this as a dukedom, as well as Lapland, Bodnia, Biarmia and some more.

160.23. Norway extends from North to South along the sea, and is separated from Sweden by a large mountain range. This Norway is under the rule of the kingdom of Denmark. This could be a very good land in terms of its nature and properties, but it is greatly impoverished as a result of its servitude to the Danes, who have robbed them of their sea-faring and trade of merchandise. All wealth of the country consists of cattle and fish, and this is also where stockfish {1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only{or merlu}1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F only} comes from, called like that because it is put high on sticks to be dried in the cold. January is the season to catch it, for then the cold is severe enough to dry it. For what is caught during other months will not last, and cannot be exported. Bergen is the merchant city of Norway, and Nidrosia (in German Trondheim) is a bishopric here.

- 160.24. About the islands England, Scotland and Ireland we do not write here, because they have their own maps in this book, where you can read about them {1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F instead[to which I refer you]1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F & 1598F instead}. Then there is the isle of Frisland, about which very little is known, and therefore we can not say much about it, except that Nicolaus Genus [Zeno] in the year 1380 ended up there, being shipwrecked not far from it.
- 160.25. Then follows Iceland, an island full of wonders. Here is a mountain called Hekla which has eternal snow on its top, and eternal fire below. Close to this mountain there is an unfathomable depth where people appear (as Olaus Magnus writes), who died recently. There are also many sulphur mountains here. Here you also find bears, foxes and ravens, all of them white. No corn grows here, but merchants import it, who in turn export fish and butter. The people live mostly underneath the earth in holes, because of the bitter cold.
- 160.26. Greenland is the last land in the North that in our times has become known, and about which one can speak. Gerardus Mercator, however, in his map depicts another island further to the North which he calls Grockland etc. What the world further looks like in the North, and whether there is sea or land, is not known for certain, but various fables from various people have been reported. Some think that the sea can be further traversed for only one day. I will put down one story, and whether it is true or a fable is a matter I leave with the author Albertus Crantzius.
- 160.27. He writes how, shortly after the year one thousand, in the time of Alebrand, bishop of Hamburg, there are supposed to have been some noblemen from Friesland who were convinced that if one would sail from the river Weser straight Northwards, one would not find any land, and they wanted to try this out. They went to sea with some honest company, sailed between Denmark and Scotland to the Orkney islands, passing these on the left and Norway on the right, thus sailed along Iceland and from there straight to the North.
- 160.28. Having passed all of these islands, they requested from God and their patron saint Willibrord protection for their curiosity. And then they came in such misty and cold darkness, that they could see nothing at all, and the turning and pulling currents of the sea frightened these unfortunate sailors, who could not think of anything but their impending death, swallowed by them. (These turning currents seem to be the abyss of the sea, where all waters of the sea are swallowed and regurgitated).
- 160.29. These poor and frightened adventurers implored Gods grace and asked for mercy for their souls. And this abyss then swallowed some of their ships, and then returned some of their ships to the surface and far from the eyes of their companions pushed them out of danger. Thus, through God's help and by rowing very hard, they were released from the danger which they had seen with their own eyes. When they returned from this darkness, they have, without having hoped for it, found an island, surrounded by high cliffs (like a city by walls), on which they have landed to have a closer look.
- 160.30. And they found human beings there, who lived in holes beneath the earth, and there near their holes they found many costly barrels full of gold and silver, and carrying as many of these treasures as they were able to, they returned to their ships in great joy. But looking back, they suddenly saw people of an unusually large size, we would call them werewolves, with exceedingly large dogs, coming right towards them. These seized one

of their company by surprise, and devoured him before their eyes. The rest safely got to their boats and returned after many troubles to Bremen, where they related all this to the bishop, and thanked God that he had saved them and had brought them home safely, etc.}1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F & 1598/1610/1613D end here.}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in this text:

Cabot, Sebastian 160.18 (1570)
 Chytræus, David: History of Saxony 160.18 (1595)
 Crantzius, Albertus 160.17 (1570), 160.26-27 (1571D)
 Episcopus Upsaliensis [bishop of Upsala, Olaus' brother] 160.17 (1570), 160.25 (1571D)
 Fioravante, Christophoro 160.17 (1570)
 Geni, Nicolao 160.17 see Zeno
 Grammaticus, Saxo 160.17 (1570)
 Herberstein, Sigismundus ab: Commentaries on Moschovia 160.17 (1570)
 Magnus, Olaus the Goth 160.17 (1570), 160.25 (1571D)
 Mercator, Gerardus 160.26 (1571D)
 Michaëlis, Nicolas 160.17 (1570)
 Ortelius: text on Iceland 160.2 (Ort161) (1595) and *Thesaurus* 160.2 (1595)
 Quirinus, Peter 160.17 (1570)
 Wimman, Nicolaus 160.17 (1570)
 Zenis, Antony & Nicolas 160.17 (1573)
 Zeno (Zenus), Nicolao (as reported in Ramusio) 160.10 (1570), 160.11 (1570), 160.12 (1570), 160.13 (1570), 160.16 (1573), 160.17 (1573)
 Zichmus 160.16 (1573)
 Ziegler(us) Iames (Iacobus) 160.3 (1570), 160.9 (1570), 160.17 (1570)

3.2.7 Ort162, Russia

Title: RVSSIÆ, MOSCO:|VLÆ ET TARTA:|RIÆ DESCRIP:|TIO Auctore | Antonio Ienkensono Anglo, edita | Londini Anno 1562 & dedicata | illustriss. D. Henrico Sijdneo | Walliei presidi. Cum priuilegio. [Image of Russia, Moscovia and Tartaria by Antony Jenkinson the Englishman, published in London in 1562, and dedicated to the most illustrious lord Henry Sidney, leader of the Wallei. With privilege].

Further text blocks on the map itself:

Hæc pars Litu: | anix Imperatori | Rußix subdita est. [This part of Lithuania is under the rule of the Russian Emperor].

Three blocks of texts in cartouches; five blocks of texts without cartouches, all at the right side of the plate.

Cartouche top right: Zlata Baba, id est aurea | vetula ab Obdorianis, & lou | gorianis religiose colitur. Ido|lum hoc sacerdos consulit, | quid ipsis faciendum, quoue sit | migrandum,ipsumq. (dictu mirum) certa consulentib. | dat responsa,certique e:|uentus consequuntur. [Zlata Baba, that is golden granny, is devotedly worshipped by the Obdorians and Iougorians. The priest consults this idol about what to do and where to go and (it is a wonder to relate) she gives clear answers to those consulting her, leading to certain outcomes].

Cartouche top right: Horum regionum incolae | Solem,vel rubrum pan:|num pertica
suspensum | adorant. In castris vi:|tam ducunt; ac olim ani:|mātium, serpentiu,
vermion:|que carne vescuntur.ac pro:|prio idiomate vtuntur. [The inhabitants of this
region adore the sun or a red cloth hanging from a pole. They live their lives in fortresses
and eat the meat of animals, snakes and worms, and they have their own language].

Cartouche mid-below the two previous ones: Hæc saxa hominorum iumentorum
camelorum | pecorumque,ceterarumq. reru formas refe:|rentia,Horda populi gregis
pascentis,ar:|mentaq. fuit; Que stupenda quadam meta:|morphosi,repente in saxa
rigit,priori for:|ma nulla in parte diminuta. Euenit hoc | prodigium annis circiter 300.
retro | elapsis. [This rock which has the shapes of people, cattle, camels and other animals
and things was once a group of shepherds and their flocks who suddenly petrified in an
amazing metamorphosis, without changing their previous appearance. This miracle took
place 300 years ago].

Text block close to centerfold: A mangusla Shayfuram usq. 20 dierum | iter habent,sine
vllis sedibus,cum summa | aque penuria. A Shayura usq. Bogar,par | itineris interuallum
latrocinij infestum. [From Mangusla Shaijsure it is a journey of 20 days without
encampments and with an exceeding shortage of water. From Shaijsure to Bogar is a
similar distance, infested by robbers].

Text block near bottom centerfold: Corasan parua, à Rege | Persico adiuvantibus Tar:|taris
1558 expugnata fuit. [The small city of Corasan has been captured by the king of Persia
with the assistance of the Tartars in 1558].

Text block middle right edge of page: Kirgessi gens cateruatim degit, id est in hordis.
habetq. | ritum huiusmodi.cum re divinam ipsoru sacerdos peragit, | sanguinem,lac &
fimū iumentorum accipit,ac terrae miscet, | inq. vas quoddam infundit,eq. arborem
scandit,atq. concio:|ne habita,in populum spargit,atq. hæc aspersio pro Deo ha:|betur
& colitur. Cum quis diem inter illos obit,loco sepultu:|ræ arboribus suspendit. [The
Kirgessen people live in troops or hordes. They have the following custom: when a priest
performs a religious ceremony, he obtains blood, milk and dung of beasts of burden, and
mixes it with earth. He pours this in a specific vessel and climbs a tree with it, and when
there is a gathering, he sprinkles it over the people, and this sprinkling is considered to
be divine, and is worshipped. When someone of them dies, that person is hung up in a
tree by way of burial].

Text block below the previous one, lower right: Shamarcandia olim totius Tartariae |
metropolis fuit,at nunc ruinis deformis | iacet,una cum multis antiquitatis vesti:|gijs.
Hic conditus est Tamerlanes ille, qui | olim Turcarū Imperatore Bayasite cap:|tum
aureis catenis vinctum,circumtulit. | Incolæ mahumetani sunt. [Samarkand was once
the capital of all of Tartary, but now it has decayed to ruins, with many remnants from
antiquity. Here Tamerlan lies buried, once the captor of the ruler of the Turks, Bayasid.
He took him as a prisoner and abducted him, bound in gold chains. The inhabitants are
Muslims].

Text block extreme lower right corner: Cascara,hinc triginta dierum itinere ori:|entem versus
incipiunt termini imperij Ca:|thayæ Ab his limitibus ad Cambalu trium | mensium
interiacet. [Cascara. When travelling from here for thirty days, one reaches the borders
of the Empire of Cathay [China]. The distance between these borders and Cambala is a
journey of three months].

Plate size: 355 x 448 mm

Scale: 1 : 12,000,000

Identification number: Ort162 (Koeman/Meurer: 46, Karrow: 1/66, VdKrogtAN: 1800:31)

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

- 1570L(A)46 (100 copies printed) (last line, full width: Sed videndus est etiam Bonfinij liber.I.&.II.D[small]ecadis primæ rerum Hungaricum.),
- 1570L(BC)46 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 5 lines above it: rerum Hungaricum.),
- 1571L46 (275 copies printed) (last line, centred like 5 lines above it: rerum Hungaricum.),
- 1571L/1572GKoler46 (few copies printed) (last line, mostly in Gothic script like the entire text, left aligned: Cantareni beschreibung der Persischen Reyse/besihe aber auch Bonfinij Ungerische histori/im ersten und andern Buch/der ersten Decade.),
- 1571D/1573D46 (350 copies printed) (last line, in cursive script, centred like one line above it: *bont-werck, dat hier vvt deur gheheel Europa te coope ghebracht wordt.*),
- 1572/1573G46 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it: fueter,vvellichs von hinnen durch gantz Europa zu kauff gebracht wiert.),
- 1572/1574F46 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: toute l'Europe.)
- 1573L(AB)61 (75 copies printed) (last line, centred like 5 lines above it: rerum Hungaricum. ; third line of title ends: MOS-),
- 1574L61 (175 copies printed) (large page number, 11 mm; third line of title ends: MOS- ; last line, centred like 5 lines above it: rerum Hungaricum.),
- 1575L61 (100 copies printed) (small page number, 7 mm; third line of title ends: DVCIS ; last line, centred like 5 lines above it: rerum Hungaricum.),
- 1579L(A)82 (250 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it: Decadis primæ rerum Hungaricum. ; 5th line from the top ends: sigila-),
- 1579L(B)82 (250 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it: Decadis primæ rerum Hungaricum. ; 5th line from the top ends: sigilla-),
- 1580/1589G82 (350 copies printed) (last line, centred like 3 lines above it, in Gothic script: schichten in Ungern.),
- 1581F82 (400 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: fourrures de grand pris & estime, que l'on enuoye de ce pays là vendre par toute l'Europe.),
- 1584L91 (750 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it: Decadis primæ rerum Hungaricum.),
- 1587F91 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: que l'on enuoye de ce pays là vendre par toute l'Europe.),
- 1588S91 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: la compañía de IESVS.),
- 1592L99 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Basilidis, ab Oberbornio descriptæ.),
- 1595L104 (500 copies printed) (last line, left aligned; ab Oderbornio descriptæ.item Saxoniz Chronicon Daudis Chytræi.),
- 1598/1610/1613D73 (100 copies printed) (last line, italic, left-aligned: *vverck, dat hier uyt deur gheheel Europa te coope ghebracht wordt.*),
- 1598F105 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: enuoye de ce pays là vendre par toute l'Europe.),

- 1601L104 (200 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: vitæ Basilidis,ab Oderbornio descriptæ. item Saxonix Chronicon Daudis Chytræi.),
- 1602G107 (250 copies printed) (last line, centred like 3 lines above it, in Gothic script like the entire text: schichten in Ungern.),
- 1602S107 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: de Basilido scrittos por Odorbornio, item las Cronicas Saxonicas, de Daud Chytreo.),
- 1603L107 (300 copies printed) (text, but not pagenumber and typesetting, identical to 1609/1612L; last line, full width: vitæ Basilidis,ab Oderbornio descriptæ. item Saxonix Chronicon Daudis Chytræi.),
- 1606E104 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *derborne*, together with the Chronicle of Saxony done by *Dauid Chytreaus.*),
- 1608/1612I116 (300 copies printed) (last line, full width, in italic script like the entire text: *grandi,fatto di mele, & fragole, & altri frutti di color & sapore al vino simile in Moscouia.*),
- 1609/1612L117 (300 copies printed) (text, but not page number and typesetting, identical to 1603L; last line, full width: vitæ Basilidis,ab Oderbornio descriptæ item Saxonix Chronicō Daudis Chytræi.),
- 1609/1612/1641S117 (325 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Basilido scrittos por Odorbornio,item las Cronicas Saxonicas,de Daud Chytreo.).

Approximate number of copies printed: 8175.

States: 162.1 as described;

- 162.2: after the 1570(B) Latin version and before 1570(C) Latin version, the cartouche in the lower left corner received on its inner field containing the title at the right side of the square oblique hatching of about one millimetre. The same occurred on the inner field at the left and top side of the cartouche upper right beginning with the text: *Zlata Baba*;
- 162.3: After the 1579(A) Latin edition and before the 1579(B) Latin edition, the last remnants of the hatching described as state 162.2 were removed;
- 162.4: The waves in the prominent Caspian & Northern sea and lake Kitaia were recut at least twice, first between 1575 and 1579;
- 162.5: The waves were recut once again between 1598 and 1606.

Cartographic sources: Jenkinson's 1562 Russia map (Karrow 43/1, p. 318; Meurer p. 175-176). Jenkinson travelled in Russia in 1559, 1561, 1566 and 1567 and much was based on his own observations. Additionally, for the Eastern part of this map Jenkinson based himself on Herberstein, for the Western part on Wied.

Remarks: interesting folklore on eating, religion and 'burial' of the dead in trees in texts and views on the right side of the plate.

Text, scholarly version (translated from the 1570L(ABC), 1571L, 1571L/1572GKoler, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612L, 1609/1612/1641S & 1609/1612L edition)

162.1. {1570L(ABC)}{Russia, or rather the empire of the grand duke of Moscovia.

- 162.2. This map does not comprise all of Russia, for here are lacking Polonia and Lithuania, which are also contained under the name of Russia. But the whole empire of the {1606E only}{Grand}{1606E only} duke of Moscovia is bound in the North by the frozen sea, in the East by the Tartars, in the South by the Turks {not in 1588S{and the Poles}not in 1588S}, and in the West it borders on Livonia {1606E has instead{Lithuania}{1606E instead} and {not in 1606E{the kingdom of}not in 1606E} Sweden. All these regions and provinces have been described separately by Sigismundus, baron of Herberstein, to whom we refer the studious reader. About the religion, habits, manners, and kind of life of this nation, we have from him willingly for you selected these few facts: In their religion they mostly follow the rites of the Greek church. Their priests take wives. They worship images in their churches.
- 162.3. When their children are baptised, they are three times entirely dipped into the water, but the water in the font is specifically consecrated anew for each individual child. Although by their rules they have a kind of {1606E only}{auricular}{1606E only} confession, yet the common people think it only pertains to princes and noblemen. Confession being ended, and penance being meted out according to the gravity of the offence, they sign themselves on the forehead and the breast with the sign of the cross, and with a loud cry they lament: Jesus Christ, son of God, have mercy on us. This is their common manner of prayer, for few can say the Pater noster [our Father].
- 162.4. {not in 1588S{They do take part in the sacrament of the [holy] supper of both kinds, mingling the bread with the wine, as if mingling the body with the blood. They administer the Lord's [holy] sacrament to children of seven years old, for at that age, they say, men start to sin}not in 1588S}. The better sort of men, after the communion ends, spend the festive days in riot and drunkenness, and revere in beautiful attire. The more common sort of people and servants mostly [resume] work and labour, saying that to be idle and stop working on a holy day is for gentlemen only. They do not believe in Purgatory but yet they pray for the dead. No one besprinkles himself with holy water, as this may only be done by the priest himself.
- 162.5. In Lent they fast for seven whole weeks altogether. They marry, and tolerate bigamy, but they question whether this is lawful matrimony. They allow divorces. They do not consider something to be adultery, except when one man takes another man's wife. The state of women in this country is most miserable. For they think that no [woman] can possibly be honest, unless she {1606E only}{carries her house overhead like a snail, and}{1606E only} is continually locked up indoors, or so watched that she never can go out. This is a wily and deceitful people, preferring to delight in servitude rather than in liberty.
- 162.6. All of them acknowledge to be the princes' servants. They are seldom at rest, for either they must make war on the Lithuanians, Livonians or Tartars. And if they are not employed in service for any wars, then they are placed in garrisons around their rivers {1606E only}{Don (also called){1606E only} Tanais {1606E only}{by the ancients}}{1606E only} and Occa to resist the robberies of the Tartars. They wear long gowns without any folds, with narrow sleeves after the Hungarian fashion. Boots also, mostly red and short, which hardly reach the knees, and under their shoes they have iron studs. They tie their girdles not around their waists, but as low as their hips, so that their bellies become even

more prominent. They do strict justice on thieves. Theft and manslaughter is seldom punished by death.

- 162.7. Their silver coins are not round but somewhat oblong, of an oval form {1580/1589G, 1588S, 1602G, 1602S, 1606E, 1608/1612I & 1609/1612/1641S only}{like an egg}1580/1589G, 1588S, 1602G, 1602S, 1606E, 1608/1612I & 1609/1612/1641S only}. The country abounds with those rich and precious furs which from here are transported all over Europe. {not in 1608/1612I}{It is almost everywhere full of woods}not in 1608/1612I}.
- 162.8. All these particulars we have drawn from the above-mentioned Sigismund. Of more things about this country you may read in Matthias à Michou, {1592L, not in 1602G, 1602S, & 1609/1612/1641S}{[and] Alexander Gaguine}1592L, not in 1602G, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S}, in a booklet on the Sarmatians, [in] Albert Crantz' Wandalia, [and in] Paulus Iovius of the Embassy of the Moscovites [writing] to Pope Clement the seventh {1606E instead{eighth}1606E instead}. [And in] Albertus Campensis to the same Clement, as well as in the Persian journeys of Ambrosius Contarenus. But you should also read the first and second book of Bonfinius' first Decade of the history of Hungary}1570L(ABC), 1571L, 1573L(AB), 1574L, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1584L & 1602G end here}, {1588S, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S only}{and about Moscovia by Antonius Possevinus of the Jesuits}1588S only, which ends here}{1592L{as also the first book of the life of Basilides written by Oderborne}1592L which ends here}, {1595L{together with the Chronicle of Saxony written by David Chytræus}1595L which ends here, as do 1601L, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E, 1609/1612L & 1609/1612/1641S}.
- 162.8a. {1608/1612I only}{And recently Francesco da Collo, ambassador of emperor Maximilian the first, has in the year 1518 printed this entire peace treaty [reprinted] in Padua in 1603 at Lorenzo Pasquati, in which he describes the entire journey geographically, and also the composition of a drink called Medo or Meduno, made in Moscow for adults, consisting of apples, strawberries and other coloured fruits, tasting like wine.}1608/1612I only, which ends here}.

The text of the 1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F & 1598/1610/1613D editions differ considerably from the scholarly text above, and will therefore be provided in translation separately here as the vernacular version of the Russia text.

- 162.9. {1571/1573D}{The Empire of Russians | or Moscovia.
- 162.10. Russia has not entirely been depicted on the map, because it lacks the kingdom of Poland and the land of Lithuania which also belong to the realm of Russia. But we have only [shown] all countries resorting under the duke of Moscovia (as we call him). For he graces himself with the title of emperor of Russia. His empire extends from the Nordic sea to Poland and Lithuania, and to the Caspian Sea in the South, where he conquered the city of Astracan, at the mouth of the river Volga, {1572/1573G only}{where it empties into the Caspian sea}1572/1573G only} a few years ago.
- 162.11. In the East it has the river Ob and Lake Kytaiā bordering on the Tartars. In the West it extends to the Kingdom of the Swedes, and Livonia, and we must fear (after the policy which we have seen, for he has in recent years annexed a part of it), that he will soon fully conquer the rest of Livonia. About these countries under this emperor (as he calls him) and the peoples living in them, a very accurate description has been written by

- Sigismundus of Herberstein, who was sent there as ambassador on behalf of emperor Ferdinandus, from whose writings we have taken the following.
- 162.12. The inhabitants of this land mostly resemble the Greeks in their religion. Their priests are allowed to marry a woman. They worship statues in their churches. When they baptize their children, they plunge them three times under water, but they consecrate the water for each child separately. Although they practice confession as a habit, yet the common people do not feel that it is for them, but is only for important lords and rich people. When they have confessed and repented, doing penance for the sin they have committed, they will bless their forehead and breast with the sign of the cross, and they will lament in a wailing manner: 'Jesus Christ, son of God, have mercy on us'.
- 162.13. This is commonly their prayer. For the Our-Father-who-Art-in-Heaven is known by only very few of them. They receive Holy Communion of both kinds, for they mix bread and wine intended as flesh and blood. Children from seven years [onwards] they give the sacrament, saying that from that age people are capable of sinning. Holy days are celebrated by the lords and such people (after the service in church has been completed) by dressing up splendidly, showing themselves off, and by getting drunk. The common people and servants mostly continue their daily chores, saying that celebrations and being idle is only the work of highly placed lords.
- 162.14. They do not believe in Purgatory, but yet say mass for the dead. Nobody sprinkles himself with holy water but they allow the priest to do the sprinkling. In the time of Lent they fast for seven weeks in a stretch. They marry too, and also allow a man to marry a second wife, but this is hardly considered as a legal marriage. They also allow divorces. They only consider something as adultery if it concerns a married woman. Women have a very hard life there, because no woman is ever trusted to be honest unless she remains indoors, and is guarded there in such a way that she cannot go out. It is a wily and deceitful people, more at ease with servitude than liberty. They suffer and consider themselves their lords' slaves. They are seldom at rest, for they make war with the Lithuanians, or the Livonians, or the Tartars, and if they do not make war, they guard the river Don (once called Tanais) and the river Occa against the Tartars in garrisons, so that these do not invade their country.
- 162.15. They wear long unpleated skirts and narrow sleeves in the Hungarian manner, and have red boots, very short ones, which hardly reach their knees. Their shoe soles are studded with iron. They do not belt themselves at their belly, but just above the hips, covering their privy parts, and arrange their belt in such a manner that their belly protrudes. They mete out justice severely against hooligans and robbers. But theft or manslaughter seldom leads to the death penalty. They have silver coins, not round but oblong, like a fried egg.
- 162.16. This country is full of woods, and flat without mountains. And it has many costly furs, which are exported from here all over Europe}1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F and 1598/1610/1613D end here}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in this text:

Bonfinius: Bk.1&2, Decade 1, History of Hungary 162.8 (1570)
Campensis, Albertus 162.8 (1570)

Chytræus, David: Chronicle of Saxony 162.8 (1595)
 Contarenus, Ambrosius: Persian journies 162.8 (1570)
 Crantz, Albert: Wandalia 162.8 (1570)
 Gaguine, Alexander: Treatise on Sarmatians 162.8 (1592)
 Herberstein, Sigismundus B. 162.2 (1570), 162.8 (1570), 162.11 (1571D)
 Iovius, Paulus of the Embassy of the Moscovites : Letter to Clement the Eighth 162.8 (1570)
 Jenkins, Anthony is mentioned in the cartouche of the Russiæ map as its maker, Ort162 (1570)
 Matthias of Michou 162.8 (1570)
 Oderborne: Life of Basilides 162.8 (1592)
 Possevinus, Antonius, the Jesuit: Moscovia 162.8 (1588)
 Sydney, Henry, Governor of Wales is the person to whom this map is dedicated (1570).

3.2.8 Ort166, East Indies

Title: INDIÆ | ORIENTALIS, | INSVLARVMQVE | ADIACENTI:|VM TY:|PVS. [A map of the East Indies and surrounding islands] .

Bottom right: Cum Priuilegio. [with privilege].

On banner near Moluccas: Insulæ Moluccæ ob maximam | aromatum copiam, quam per
 | totum terrarū orbem trans | ferunt, 5.sunt, iuxta Gilolo | nempe, Tarenate, Tidore,
 | Motir, Machia et Bachia. [Of the famous Moluccas islands there are next to Gilolo
 five, exporting all over the world a great abundance of fragrant spices, namely Tarenate,
 Tidore, Motir, Machia and Bachia].

Bottom right: NOVA GVINEA | quam Andreas Corsalis Ter: | ram Piccinaculi appellare
 vi: | detur. An insula sit, an pars | continentis Australis incert: | tum est. [New Guinea,
 which seems to be called Piccinaculusland by Andreas Corsalus. Whether this is an
 island or part of the South Land is uncertain].

Text top left, around coat of arms: PERSIAE | siue So:phorum Im: | perij li:mites ad In: |
 dum flu:uium vsque | pertin:gunt. [The borders of Persia, or the Empire of the Sophies,
 extend all the way to the river Indus].

Plate size: 347 x 496 mm

Scale: 1 : 22,000,000

Identification number: Ort166 (Koeman/Meurer: 48, Karrow: 1/68, vdKrogtAN: 8400:31)

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

1570L(AC)48 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 4 lines above it: peritus Indicarum
 Historiarum libros 3.),

1570L(B)48 (100 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it: Macer Iurisperitus
 Indicarum Historiarum libros III.),

1571L48 (275 copies printed) (last line, centred like 6 lines above it: storiarum libros.III.),

1571L/1572GKoler48 (few copies printed) (last line, mostly in Gothic script like the entire
 text, left aligned: in welcher du viel gutes Dings von der Insula Iapani finden wirst. Es
 hat auch Iohannes Macer ein Jurist 3. Bücher von Indischen historien geschrieben.),

1571/1573D48 (350 copies printed) (last line, centred like 3 lines above it: selfde Zee Mar del
 Zur ghenoeemt hebben.),

- 1572/1573G48 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 3 lines above it: Meer *Mar del Zur* gehaissen haben.),
- 1572/1574F48 (225 copies printed) (last line, centred like 7 lines above it: mée,Mar del Zur.),
- 1573L(A)63 (40 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it, in cursive script like the entire text: *Castagnedo harum Indiarum historias etiam Hispanica lingua edidit.*),
- 1573L(B)63 (40 copies printed) (last line, centred like one line above it, in cursive script like the entire text: *Indiarum historias etiam Hispanica lingua edidit.*),
- 1574L63 (175 copies printed) (large page number, 11 mm; last line, italic like the entire text, and centred like 2 lines above it: *do harum Indiarum historias etiam Hispanica lingua edidit.*),
- 1575L63 (100 copies printed) (small page number, 7 mm; last line, italic like the entire text, and centred like 2 lines above it: *Hispanica lingua edidit.*),
- 1579L(A)84 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in cursive script like the entire text: *ctor Castagnedo,harum Indiarum historias etiam Hispanica lingua edidit.* ; page number 84 positioned below *quidam* in penultimate text line.),
- 1579L(B)84 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in cursive script like the entire text: *ctor Castagnedo,harum Indiarum historias etiam Hispanica lingua edidit.* ; page number 84 positioned below space in last line between *lingua* and *edidit.*),
- 1580/1589G84 (350 copies printed) (last line, centred like 4 lines above it, in Gothic script: lassen außgehen.),
- 1581F84 (400 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: ilz ont nommée,Mar del Zur.),
- 1584L94 (750 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in cursive script like the entire text: *lege lib. vigesimum tomi secundi Goncali Ferdinandi Ouetani, eadem lingua editum.*),
- 1587F94 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: ont nommée , Mar del Zur.),
- 1588S94 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: uiedo,estampado en la mesma lengua.),
- 1592L102 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in cursive script: *lingua editum.*),
- 1595L108 (500 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: di Gonsali Ferdinandi Ouetani,eadem lingua editum.),
- 1598/1610/1613D77 (100 copies printed) (last line, centred like five lines above it: noemt hebben.),
- 1598F109 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: stré, laquelle ilz ont nommée, Mar del Zur.),
- 1601L108 (200 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Ferdinandi Ouetani , eadem lingua editum.),
- 1602GIII (250 copies printed) (last line, centred 4 lines above it, in Gothic script like the entire text: lassen außgehen.),
- 1602SIII (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: Ouiedo, estampado en la mesma lengua.),
- 1603LIII (300 copies printed) (text, but not typesetting and page number, identical to 1609/1612L; last line, in cursive script like the entire text, left aligned: *secundi Gonsali Ferdinandi Ouetani, eadem lingua editum.*),
- 1606E108 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: of the second Tome of *Gonsaluo Ouetani*, written in like maner in the Spanish tongue.),
- 1608/1612I20 (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in cursive script like the entire text: *Giaua scritte in loro linguaggio, & poscia in Latino & in Italico traslate.*),

1609/1612L12I (300 copies printed) (text, but not typesetting and page number, identical to 1603L; last line, left aligned: *mi secundi Gonsali Ferdinandi Ouetani, eadem lingua editum.*),
 1609/1612/1641S12I (325 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *do en la mesma lengua.*).

Approximate number of copies printed: 8175.

States: 166.1 as described

166.2: in 1579L(B) the degrees along top edge 150-160-170 have been changed to 150-100-170.

166.3: in 1584L the oblique hachuring in the top left cartouche with towers has been replaced by small random dots.

166.4: in 1587F the regular vertical dot pattern in the seas has been replaced by a random dot pattern. Wide hachuring added to all islands and coastlines.

166.5: in 1609/1612L degrees along the top corrected to their first state again: 150-160-170.

Cartographic sources: close copy of Mercator's 1569 World map (Karrow p. 8, Meurer p. 38).

References: Suarez, 1999, p. 164-170, Figure 86.

Remarks: The difficulty of mapping this archipelago was such, that for centuries to come maps of this area remain faulty. Sumatra and Java are heavily oversized, and the Philippines are incomplete and without the Northern island of Luzon.

The mermaids who are beautifying themselves rather than heeding the whales' attack on nearby ships, are based on those occurring on Diego Gutiérrez map of America (1562), engraved by Cock.

Text, scholarly version (translated from the 1570 Latin (ABC), 1571 Latin, 1571L/1572GKoler, 1573 Latin (AB), 1574 Latin, 1575 Latin, 1579 Latin (AB), 1580/1589 German, 1584 Latin, 1588 Spanish, 1592 Latin, 1595 Latin, 1601 Latin, 1602 German, 1602 Spanish, 1603 Latin, 1606 English, 1608/1612 Italian, 1609/1612/1641 Spanish and 1609/1612 Latin edition).

166.1. {1608/1612I only}{EAST}1608/1612I only}{1570L(ABC)}INDIA.

166.2. That there is hardly a better and more famous country in the world, nor larger, comprised under one and the same name than India is something that almost all writers unanimously agree on. It received its name from the river Indus. The entire area of India is confined in the judgment of Strabo and Plinius as follows: in the West it has the river Indus, in the North the great mountain range *Taurus* [Himalaya], in the East the eastern archipelago, {1606E only}{in which you find those most famous islands of the Moluccas,}1606E only} and in the South it has the Indian sea. In the middle it is divided into two large provinces by the river Ganges. Whatever is West of the river Ganges is called India on this side of the Ganges. Whatever lies East is India beyond the Ganges. In the Holy Script this is called Evilat {1606E only}{or Havila}1606E only}. Some writers call it Seria, {1606E only}{the country of the Seres,}1606E only} {1608/1612I only}{and also Dom}1608/1612I only} as Dominicus Niger asserts. Mr. Paulus Venetus {1608/1612I

- has instead{Marco Polo}1608/1612I instead} seems to divide it into three provinces, the Greater, the Lesser and the Middlemost which he says they also call Abasia.
- 166.3. This whole country in general is most fortunate, not only for its multitude of peoples {1595L, not in 1602G, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S{(of which, as Herodotus writes, it is the most populous and richest country of any in the world)}1595L, not in 1602G, 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S} but also for its almost infinite number of towns and villages, as well as for its abundance of all kinds of commodities (excepting only brass and lead, if we may believe Plinius). It has very many rivers, and those are very wide. They irrigate many places, bringing forth from the moist soil under the powerful sun all kinds of things plentifully. It provides all the rest of the world with spices, {1606E only{pearls}1606E only} and precious stones, providing a greater supply of these commodities than any other country of the whole world.
- 166.4. Near this country there are many excellent islands, which lie scattered over the main ocean, so that it may justly be termed World of Islands. But especially Japan, which Mr. Paulus Venetus {1608/1612I has instead{Marco Polo}1608/1612I instead} calls Zipangri, {1606E only{situated in this sea, is worth noting}1606E}. Since it is not many years ago that it was known to few only, I think it is not amiss to say something about it here. It is a very large and wide island, and has almost the same latitude as Italy. Its inhabitants are much inclined towards religion, learning and wisdom, and are most earnest searchers of the truth.
- 166.5. Nothing is more common among them than that they pray, which they do in their shrines in the same manner as we do. They have only one king, to whom they are subject, and they will bow to his requests. Yet, he also has someone above him, whom they call Voo, to whom the order of ecclesiastical matters and government of the church is exclusively committed. {not in 1588S only{we can compare him aptly to the Pope, as their king to our emperor}not in 1588S only}. To him these people commit the salvation of their souls. They worship only one God, who is portrayed with three heads, for which they cannot provide a reason. They baptise their children, and by fasting show penance, vexing their bodies. They give themselves the sign of the cross against the assaults of demons as we do, so that in religion and in their manner of living they seem to imitate the Christians. In spite of this, the order of the Jesuits does its utmost by labouring as hard as it can to imbue them wholly with Christianity.
- 166.6. Here are also the Moluccae, certain islands famous for their abundance of spices {1606E only{which they yearly harvest and export to all parts of the world}1606E only}. On these islands breeds the Manucodiatta, a small bird which we call the bird of paradise, {1606E only{a strange fowl that is not seen anywhere else}1606E only}. {1608/1612I only{It has been described by the knight Antonio Pigafetta in his travels around the world}1608/1612I only}. {1606E only{Nearer to the coast of India is}1606E only}. [Then there is] SUMATRA, {1606E only{or rather Samotra, for that is the way in which the king himself of the country writes it in his letters to his majesty}1606E only}. This island once was known to the ancients as Taprobana. There are also various other islands in this region {1606E only{of great fame and highly esteemed,}1606E only} such as Java Maior, Java Minor, Borneo, Timor &c. as you can see on the map, {1606E only{but we cannot in this place discuss everything in particular and exhaustively. As far as here, the religion of Mahomet is professed and from Barbary opposite Spain, all the way to these places

the Arabic language is spoken and understood. The Moors from Marocco, ambassadors to our late queen some five years ago, we saw and heard speak that language [Arabic] naturally, and their commissions, and patent letters were written in it as well.

- 166.7. From Achem in Samotra and from Bantam in Java Minor our merchants recently brought letters to his Highness which were so beautifully and ingeniously written in those characters and language [Arabic] that no one who has not seen it would be willing to believe it, particularly from so barbarous and rude a nation}1606E only}.
- 166.8. Ancient writers lavishly describing {1580/1589G & 1609/1612/1641S instead{praising}1580/1589G & 1609/1612/1641S instead} these Indies are Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Plinius, Strabo, Quintus Curtius and Arrianus in his life of Alexander the Great {1595L, not in 1602G{as well as Apuleius in his {not in 1608/1612I{first book of} not in 1608/1612I} Floridi. Much has been written, {not in 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S{but mostly fantasized}not in 1602S & 1609/1612/1641S}, by Dion Pruseus in his 35th oration}1595L, not in 1602G}. There is a letter from Alexander the Great to Aristoteles about the location of the Indies. As for contemporary writers, see {1608/1612I only{what the knight Antonio Pigafetta has written about it when he returned from the very long trip around the world which he made with the famous Magellaen, written in the French language, inserted in the first book of Ramusio's On Navigation}1608/1612I only}, Ludovicus Vartomannus, Maximilianus Transylvanus, Ioannes Barrius in his Asian Decades, {1574L{& and Cosmæ Indopleutes, cited by Petrus Gyllius}1574L}. See [also] the Jesuits' Epistles, where you shall find many things concerning the discovery of the island of Japan. {1592L, not in 1602G{But if you want a full description of it, I suggest you take recourse to the twelfth book of Maffei on Indian history}1592L, not in 1602G}. Ioannes Macer, a lawyer, has written three books on the history of India}1570L(ABC), 1571L & 1571L/1572G{Koler end here} {1592L, not in 1602G{in which he has much on the isle of Java}1592L, not in 1602G}. {1573L{Moreover, Castagnedo, a Spaniard, has written a discourse on the Indies in Spanish}1573L(AB), 1574, 1575L, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G & 1602G end here}. {1584L{About the islands which lie scattered here over the ocean, read the twentieth book of the second volume of Gonsalvus Ferdinandus Ovetani, likewise written in Spanish}1584L, 1588S, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602S, 1603L, 1606E, 1609/1612L & 1609/1612/1641S end here}{1608/1612I only{and about the navigations of the Dutch near Java, written in their language, and translated into Latin and Italian}1608/1612I only, which ends here}.

Text, vernacular version, of the 1571/1573 Dutch, 1572/1573 German, 1572/1574 French, 1581 French, 1587 French, 1598 French and 1598/1610/1613 Dutch editions, which differ so much from the text given above that it is given below separately.

- 166.9. {1571/1573D{India.

- 166.10. There is no larger area in the world comprised under one name than these Indies, nor a more noble land on the entire earth. For no country is more fertile, nor does one have a better climate, nor is there a country where the people live longer. No country has richer fruits, serving the necessities as well as the pleasures of human nature. These Indies fill the world with their precious stones, spices and fragrances. All handicrafts and arts have

- here reached their highest degree, so that here the art of printing has been in existence for one thousand years, as diligent writers describing the world testify, for instance the cosmographer Iohannes Barros in his *Asia*, as well as the Jesuits, who travel in this area intensively in our times, and exert themselves to convert its inhabitants to Christianity.
- 166.11. Nowhere else can you find such large and populous cities, or harbours, where there is more important trade of merchandise, for which reason these Indies in old times as well as nowadays have been highly esteemed by writers. Thus one might say, (unless the location of paradise can be ascertained), that this entire area may be considered paradise on earth. Here in the sea there are many rich islands, such as Samotra, both Javas, the Moluccas &c, so that this sea by itself might be called a world of islands of its own.
- 166.12. But I have to say something in particular about the isle of Japan here, because few people know about it, as it has only been discovered in 1550 during our lifetime. Its inhabitants are very sharp-witted and devoted to wisdom; in their religion and ways of life they resemble Christianity in many respects. Nothing is more common for them than to say their prayers in their churches as we do. Their children are baptised, they punish their bodies very severely by fasting, and they bless themselves by making a cross to avert the temptations of the devil. They pray to one God only, whom they portray with three heads, but they cannot give a reason why.
- 166.13. They have a chief to whom they are all subjected, but he has another one above himself called Voo by them, who rules over matters concerning religion and spiritual matters, and who might be compared to the Pope, whereas the other one is like an Emperor. About the Moluccas I also have to say something, namely the spices which mostly reach us from there, and about a miraculous bird which we call bird of paradise called Manucodiatta by them, (meaning God's little bird). These islands are five in number. Gilolo lies in the middle, the others around it.
- 166.14. The Spanish call their new world America also by the name the Indies, but wrongly. For these Indies derive their name from the principal river Indus traversing it, and should one be inclined to give America a name after its principal river, then it should be called Orelana or Amasonia, rather than India. But the reason why this country was misnamed by them is (in my view) the following: They have seen that all writers who have described the world have called the part of *Asia* extending from the river Indus Eastwards to the end and ultimate borders until the sea, and they, coming from the West, searching for new lands, and finding them in the East, could not but think that this must be the very edge of Asia, which by the writers was called the Indies (as we remarked), unaware as they were that between this newly found land and Asia there was another large sea, as they later realised and which they have called Mare del Zur}1571/1573D, 1572/1573G, 1572/1574F, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F & 1598/1610/1613D end here}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in this text:

- Apuleius: Bk.1 Floridorum 166.8 (1595)
 Arrianus: Life of Alexander 166.8 (1570)
 Barrius, Ioannes: Asian Decades 166.8 (1570), 166.10 (1571D)
 Castagnedo: Discourse on the Indies 166.8 (1573)
 Corsalus, Andreas: on mapsheet concerning New Guinea (1570)

Curtius, Quintus 166.8 (1570)
 Gyllius, Petrus: Cosmæ Indopleutes 166.8 (1574)
 Herodotus 166.3 (1595), 166.8 (1570)
 Jesuits Epistles 166.8 (1570)
 Macer, Ioannes: History of India 166.8 (1570)
 Maffei: Bk.12 Indian History 166.8 (1592)
 Maximilianus Transsylvanus 166.8 (1570)
 Niger, Dominicus 166.2 (1570)
 Ovetani, Gonsalvus Ferdinandus: Vol.2, Bk.20 Indian Islands 166.8 (1584)
 Pigafetta, Antonio 166.8; (1608 only): Travels around the World 166.6 (1608 only)
 Plinius 166.2 (1570), 166.3 (1570), 166.8 (1570)
 Polo, Marco see Venetus, Paulus
 Prusæus, Dion: 35th Oration 166.8 (1595L)
 Ramusio: On Navigation 166.8 (1608 only)
 Siculus, Diodorus 166.8 (1570)
 Strabo 166.2 (1570), 166.8 (1570)
 Vartomannus, Ludovicus 166.8 (1570)
 Venetus, Paulus on mapsheet, calling Japan Zipangri (1570), 166.2 (1570), 166.4 (1570)

3.2.9 Ort211, Ancient Sicily

Title: SICILLÆ | VETERIS | TYPVS | Ex conatibus geographicis A. Ortelij [Map of Ancient Sicily from the geographical efforts of Abraham Ortelius].

Top left centre: Cum priuilegio decennali Imp. | Reg. & cancellariæ Braban: | tiæ 1584. [With an imperial, royal and council of Brabant privilege for ten years. 1584.].

Bottom left corner: *Veteris Siciliæ loca, incertæ aut prorsus incognitæ positionis*. [Places on Ancient Sicily of uncertain or formerly unknown location], followed by a 7-column list).

Inset: 110 x 100 mm: Territorij Syrcusani loca, in: | certæ positionis: Acrillæ, Echetla, Magel: | la. [Places in the Syracuse area or uncertain location, viz. Acrillæ, Echetla and Magella].

Mid right: Erij montes, vel | Eræi, fertilitatis | admirandæ. [The Erij or Eræi mountains, admirable for their fertility].

Mid right: Pergus lacus, | et vmbilicus | Siciliæ Hic | Proserpinam à Plutone | captam fe: | runt. [Lake Pergus, also the navel of Sicily. Here Proserpina was ravished by Pluto].

Midright: Aetna mons, Cælestis | columna Pindaro. [Mount Aetna, pillar of heaven, according to Pindarus].

Text block above the three islands west of Sicily saying *Locaricum, et ad | oliuam vrbes, ha: | bet Anton. inter | Hijccaram et Li: | lijbaeum* [Locaricum and the cities near the olive trees between Hijccara and Lilijbaeus, as Antoninus says].

Plate size: 369 x 486 mm.

Scale: 1 : 825,000. Inset: 1 : 160,000.

Identification number: Ort211 (Koeman/Meurer: 10P, Karrow: 1/157, Van der Krogt AN: 7510H:31).

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

1584L3Addblank (100 copies printed) (identical to 1584L, but here without page number; last line, left aligned: cupiens vitare Charybdin; quæ vide apud Erasmum.),

1584L106 (750 copies printed) (identical to 1584L3Add, but here with page number; last line, left aligned: cupiens vitare Charybdin; quæ vide apud Erasmum.),

1584G3Add13 in upper right corner (75 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, partly in Gothic script: *indicit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim*, von welchem du lesen magst in Adagijs *Erasmi Roterodami*.),

1585F3Add (75 copies printed) (last line, full width: *aupres de l'Isle vers l'Orient, s'appelle aussi la mer Ausoniène: &dit qu'elle est fort profonde.*),

1587F104 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *vers l'Orient, s'appelle aussi la mer Ausonienne: & dit qu'elle est fort profonde.*),

1592L12 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *piens vitare Charybdin. quæ vide apud Erasmum.*),

1595LP (500 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *piens vitare Charybdim. quæ vide apud Erasmum.*),

1601Lxxiij (200 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *vitare Charybdim. quæ vide apud Erasmum.*),

1602G21 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, partly in Gothic script: *Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim, won welchen du lesen magst in Adagijs Erasmi Roterdami.*),

1603Lxxv (300 copies printed) (text and page number, but not typesetting, identical to 1609/1612S/L; 4th line from the bottom ends: *Cal* (also a variant with *Ca-*); last line, left aligned: *vitare Charybdim. quæ vide apud Erasmum.*),

1606Exxiiij (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned, in cursive script: *Chiliades*),

1608/1612Lxxv (300 copies printed) (last line, full width, in cursive script like the bottom half of the text: *antro in Scilla, desiderando di guardar si da Cariddi: le quali notitie vedi in Erasmo, doue raccoglie li prouerbij con libro grande.*),

1609/1612Sxxv (text in Latin) is identical with:

1609/1612Lxxv (600 copies printed) (text and page number, but not typesetting, identical to 1603L; 4th line from the bottom ends: *Capi-* ; last line, left aligned: *vitare Charybdim. quæ vide apud Erasmum.*),

1617/1619BertiusDDD (200 copies printed); text the same as *Theatrum* 1609/1612 but reset. Last line, left aligned: *cupiens vitare Charybdim. quæ vide apud Erasmum.*),

1624ParergonL/1641Sxxix (1025 copies printed) (last line second column first text page, right aligned: *rabili-* ; last line second column second text page, left aligned: *smum.*).

States: 2II.1 as described.

2II.2: between 1584 and 1587 *Cyane fons* was added in lower right corner, E3;

2II.3: between 1587 and 1592 *Alba flu.* was added in low centre, C3;

2II.4: between 1592 and 1595, the text block above the three islands west of Sicily saying *Locaricum, et ad | oliuam vrbes, ha: | bet Anton. inter | Hijccaram et Li: | lijbaeum* was removed and replaced by irregular dots, whereas the surrounding dots in the sea have a regular vertical pattern; *Eryx mons, Ad Olivam, & Locaricum* were added middle left B2, *Pirina, Comitianae & Picinianae* were added in centre C2;

2II.5: after 1595L, before 1601, the sea under descriptions is no longer clear, but stippling has been added; *Engynum | Ptol.* was added in lower right, D3; the first ornamental curve to

the right of the left bottom cartouche with names of uncertain location which used to be blank is now stippled, B3.

2II.6: R.W. Bremner (personal communication) notes that in 1624LParergon *philippi* in the extreme left bottom corner has been changed to *Philippi*.

Approximate number of copies printed: 5450.

Cartographic sources: made by Ortelius, based on Gastaldi's 1545 map of Sicily (Meurer p. 96, Karrow p. 218), supplemented by classical sources, viz. Plinius, Strabo, Dionysus and Hesiodus.

Text, translated from the 1584 Latin 3rd Add./1584 Latin, 1584 German 3rd Add., 1585 French 3rd Add./1587 French, 1592 Latin, 1595 Latin, 1601 Latin, 1602 German, 1603 Latin, 1606 English, 1608/1612 Italian, 1609/1612 Spanish/Latin & 1624 Latin Parergon/1641 Spanish [text in Latin from the 1624 Parergon] edition). On text template only.

2II.1. {1584L3Add/1584L{Sicily {1592L, not in 1602G & 1608/1612I[or Trinacria.]1592L, not in 1602G & 1608/1612I}.

2II.2. It is a general opinion in all antiquity that this was formerly a peninsula {1606E only{or half-island}1606E only}, joined {not in 1584G3Add & 1602G{to Italy}not in 1584G3Add & 1602G} {not in 1585F3Add/1587F{as a part of Brutum}not in 1585F3Add/1587F} {1585F3Add/1587F & 1606E only{in Calabria}1585F3Add/1587F & 1606E only} near Rhegium {1585F3Add/1587F & 1606E only(Rhezso)1585F3Add/1587F & 1606E only}, and later was separated from it {1606E only{by violence of a tempest}1606E only} {not in 1584G3Add, 1585F3Add/1587F & 1602G{(and from that accident Rhegium took its name)} not in 1584G3Add, 1585F3Add/1587F & 1602G}. But when or at what time this division took place, there is no recollection of that, in any writer. Strabo, Plinius and Dionysius write that it was caused by an earth quake or chasm. {1592L, not in 1602G{Silus {1595L{and Cassiodorus}1595L} think it was caused by a surge of the sea}1592L, not in 1602G}.

2II.3. They who take recourse to fables, attribute the cause of it to Neptune (as Eusthatius states) who with his trident separated it from the mainland to favour Iocastus, the son of Æolus, and thus made into an island which before was a peninsula so that he might more safely inhabit it. Diodorus Siculus on the authority of Hesiodus ascribes it to Orion, who, so that he might be compared to Hercules, by cutting through the mountains, first opened the Sicilian straights {1585F3Add/1587F only{now called El faro de Messina}1585F3Add/1587F only}, as Hercules did for Cadiz or Gaditano {1606E has instead{Gibraltar}1606E instead}. Therefore, Trinacria quondam | Italiæ pars vna fuit; sed pontus & æstus | Mutauere situm, rupit confinia Nereus | Victor, & abscissos interluit æquore montes &c. {1584G3Add, 1585F3Add/1587F, 1602G & 1608/1612I only:{Trinacria was once a part of Italy, but through the violence of the sea the connection was broken, {not in 1584G3Add & 1602G{and Nereus became victorious}not in 1584G3Add & 1602G}, as he parted the mountains and cut them off by water, etc.}1584G3Add, 1585F3Add/1587F, 1602G & 1608/1612I only}. They who judge the islands of the Mediterranean sea

according to their size make this one out to be the largest, as [do] Eusthatius and also Strabo, who states that this [island] not only excels above the others in size, but also in quality of its soil.

- 2II.4. As regards the form of this island, Pomponius Mela says it is like that capital letter of the Greeks called Delta {shown as the Greek capital Δ in editions 1584G3Add, 1602G and 1608/1612I only}. All ancient writers are in general agreement that the whole island was consecrated to Ceres and {not in 1584G3Add & 1602G{Libera, that is,}not in 1584G3Add & 1602G} Proserpina. To Ceres it was dedicated because she prescribed laws and was the first to teach the planting and sowing of corn. To Proserpina not so much because she was taken from there forcefully by Pluto, but because Pluto {not in 1585F3Add/1587F{(which Plutarchus and Diodorus report as the truth)}not in 1585F3Add/1587F}, as she first uncovered herself to be seen by him, gave it to her as a present, which kind of gift the Greek call anacalypteria [the unveiling]{1585F3Add/1587F instead{he presented her with such gifts as which the bridegroom and his friends give to the bride when she has unveiled her face for the first time and shows it to the men}1585F3Add/1587F instead}{1608/1612I instead{as a present from the bridegroom to the bride at the time of the wedding}1608/1612I instead}.
- 2II.5. About the fertility and richness of this area there is testimony, written by Cicero in his second oration to Verres, where he says that Marcus Cato called it the granary and storehouse of the Roman commonwealth, and the nurse of the people. The same Cicero adds that it was not only the storehouse of the people of Rome, but was also considered a well-furnished treasury, for without any costs on our part, he says, it has usually clothed and lavishly furnished our greatest armies with leather, apparel and corn.
- 2II.6. Strabo in his sixth book reports roughly the same about it. Whatever Sicilia produces, says Solinus, either by the kind temperature, or by the labour and industry of man, is considered to be equal to those things that are esteemed best, except that some produce is overgrown by saffron, (Crocus Centuripinus){1608/1612I has instead{Centupurino}1608/1612I instead}. {1592L, not in 1602G{Aristoteles in his Admiranda writes that around Pelorus {1606E only{(Cabo de la torre del Faro)}1606E only} saffron grows in such abundance that any man may load it and carry it away by whole cart loads}1592L}. {1595L{But Dioscorides states that that which grows around Centuripinum {1608/1612I instead{Centupurino}1608/1612I instead}{1606E only{(a town now called Centorvi)}1606E only} is much weaker, and of less strength than that which grows in other places}1595L, not in 1602G}{1608/1612I instead{than that of the land of Centorbe in Sicily}1608/1612I instead}.
- 2II.7. Diodorus Siculus adds that in the area of Leontin and in various other places on this island, wheat grows by itself. That this island was made a province of the Romans before any other foreign nation has been recorded amongst others Cicero and Diodorus. {Not in 1585F3Add/1587F{Martianus shows that there were on it 5 {1606E has instead{6}1606E instead} settlements and 66 {1606E has instead{60}1606E instead} cities. {1595L, not in 1602G{Pintianus, in the 8th chapter of Plinius' 3rd book finds 73 free settlements and cities}1595L, not in 1602G}. Silius in his 14th {1584L3Add, 1584L, 1584G3Add & 1602G have instead{4th}1584L3Add, 1584L, 1584G3Add & 1602G instead} book {not in 1584G3Add & 1602G{and Ovidius in various places list the names of many

of them,}not in 1584G3Add & 1602G} but our present map shows many more}not in 1585F3Add/1587F}.

- 211.8. All histories and fables agree unanimously that it was in the beginning possessed by giants, læstrigones, anthropophagi and cyclopes, [all of them] barbarous and uncivil. Yet, Thucydides says that these savage people lived only in one place on the island. Afterwards the Sicani, a people from Spain, so called after the river Sicanus (or, as Solinus and Berosus claim, after their king Sicanus) possessed it, driven out of their country as they were by the Ligures {1585F3Add/1587F instead{Genevois}1585F3Add/1587F instead}. {Not in 1584G3Add{That these Sicani did not grow up on this island {not in 1585F3Add/1587F{(though some think they did)}}not in 1585F3Add/1587F} is asserted by Thucydides and Diodorus}not in 1584G3Add}. After these, it was named Sicania. {not in 1585F3Add/1587F{Then the Elymi and some of the Phocenses settled here.
- 211.9. After them came the Phryges, driven from Troy as Pausanias thinks, and the Morgetes, expelled from Italy by the Oenotri, as Strabo writes. {1595L, not in 1602G{In Convivalibus Quæst. by Plutarchus and in the 2nd book of De Manibus by Iulius Pollux {1608/1612I only{in his second book about demons in hell}1608/1612I only} I read that the Dores once inhabited it}1595L, not in 1602G}. Finally, it was entirely conquered by the Siculi, a people from Italy, overthrown and expelled by the Opici, and it was by them that [the island] was called Sicilia, whereas before that it was known by the name Trinacria, as Dionysius writes, or [as] Trinacris, as Ovidius [has it], or Trinacria and Triquetra, as Plinius reports, after its triangular form.
- 211.10. After which the Romans {not in 1584G3Add & 1602G{on their coins}not in 1584G3Add & 1602G} used to depict this area by three legs, joined together at the upper end {1606E only{(not much unlike those arms of the Earl of Derby, I think)}1606E only}. Lycophron {1606E only{for the same reason}1606E only} gives it the epithet Tricervix, [three-necked], and Pindarus in a similar manner calls it Tricuspis, [three-pointed]. Homer, {1606E only{the prince of poets}1606E only}, names it CyclopiumTerra, [the land of the cyclopes] after its inhabitants, since at his time it may not yet have had a proper name}not in 1585F3Add/1587F}.
- 211.11. {1592L, not in 1602G{Iulius Firmicus says that the Siculi, the people of this island, are sharp and of nimble wit}1592L}. {1595L{Quintilianus in the 6th book of his Oratoriae says that they are lascivious and verbose}1595L, not in 1602G}. Besides many famous deeds performed by these people in peace as well as in war, there are also many other things which have made this island very renowned such as: the birth of Ceres, the ravishing of Proserpina, the giant Enceladus, the {1606E only{wonderful}1606E only} mathematician Archimedes, the {1606E only{famous}1606E only} geometrician Euclides, the {1606E only{accurate}1606E only} historian Diodorus, the {1606E{deep}1606E} philosopher Empedocles, the ingenious architecture of Dædalus, the tomb of Sibylla of Cumana, [then] Syracuse, {not in 1585F3Add & 1587F{the famous tetrapolis, or as Strabo says, pentapolis}not in 1585F3Add & 1587F} {1606E only{(one city made out of 4 or 5 cities, like London, considering Westminster and Southwark may be said to be a tripolis)}1606E only}, the fountain Arethusa, mount Ætna, lake Palicus, Scylla and Charybdis {1585F3Add/1587F only{now Scylla garofaro}1585F3Add/1587F only} and the notorious harlot Lais.

- 2II.12. Besides [all this, there are] many miracles and wonderful works of nature, about which you may read in Solinus, {1595L, not in 1602G[in Trogus' fourth book, in Antigonus' De Mirabililibus and in Achilles Statius' 2nd book of Love]1595L, not in 1602G}. The same as regards statues, costly images of art, which are described by Cicero in his orations to Verres. {1592L, not in 1602G[Athenæus highly recommends the Sicilian cheese, doves and various sorts of garments of Sicilia. Antigonus writes that the cactus (a kind of thorny plants) grow on this island, {1595L[and nowhere else, as Theophrastes says]1595L}. If a stag treads on it and punctures its foot, its bones will yield no sound}1592L}, showing that these thorns are of no use.
- 2II.13. {1595L[Here also, as Plinius says, smaragd is found, {1606E only[a kind of precious stone, of great value in those days]1606E only}. In the sea, according to the same author, coral is found. Iulius Pollux writes that this island at first had no hares, but that these were brought in by Anaxila Rheginus}1595L, not in 1602G}. The Sicilian sea which beats on the East side of this island, is also called Ausonium mare, and it is the deepest [part of the Mediterranean sea], as Strabo testifies}1585F3Add/1587F end here}. There is another island in this sea, near to Peloponnesos [also] called Sicilia, as Stephanus reports.
- 2II.14. But the isle of Naxos {1606E only[(now called Nicsia) in the Ægean [sea] or Archipelago according to Plinius}1606E only} was at one time named Sicilia minor, {1606E & 1608/1612I only[Sicilia the lesser]1606E & 1608/1612I only}. {not in 1584G3Add & 1602G[Pausanias also speaks of a Sicilia [as] a small hill, not far from Athens in Greece}not in 1584G3Add & 1602G}. Moreover, there is a place on the Palatine hill of Rome with that name, near the Capitolinum temple {1606E has instead[as Capitolinus has recorded in his life of Perlinax the Emperor]1606E only}{1608/1612I has instead[close to the Capitolinum]1608/1612I instead}. But these are bye matters.
- 2II.15. Various proverbs have originated here, as Siculissare, {1606E only[said of someone who is sullen or touchy]1606E only}. Siculum mare, {1606E only[the Sicilian sea, meaning that which is dangerous]1606E only}. Siculus miles, {1606E only[A Sicilian soldier, that is, a mercenary or stipendary]1606E only}. Siculæ gerræ {1608/1612I only[very large shields]1608/1612I only} and Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare charybdim, [that is:] {1606E & 1608/1612I only[He falls on the rocks who tries to avoid the quicksands]1608/1612I only}, spoken of him who, desiring to escape one danger, meets a worse one}1606E only}. But of these matters you may read in {1606E only[Chiliades]1606E only} {1584G3Add & 1602G only have instead[Adagijs]1584G3Add & 1602G instead} {1608/1612I instead[where he has collected proverbs in a large book]1608/1612I instead} (by) Erasmus}1584L3/1584LAdd, 1584G3Add, 1592L, 1595L, 1601L, 1602G, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I, 1609/1612S/L & 1624L/1641S end here}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in this text:

Antigonus 2II.12 (1595); : Bk.I De Mirabil. 2II.12 (1595)
 Aristoteles: Admiranda 2II.6 (1592)
 Athenæus 2II.12 (1592)
 Berosus 2II.8 (1584)
 Capitolinus: Life of Perlinax the Emperor 2II.14 (1606 only)
 Cassiodorus 2II.2 (1595)

Cato, Marcus, quoted by Cicero 2II.5 (1584)
 Cicero 2II.7 (1584); : 2nd Oratio to Verres 2II.5 (1584), 2II.12 (1584); quoting Marcus Cato 2II.5 (1584)
 Dionysius 2II.2 (1584), 2II.9 (1584)
 Dioscorides 2II.6 (1595)
 Erasmus: Chiliades 2II.15 (1606 only), Adagia 2II.15 (1584G3Add)
 Eusthatius lending his ear to fables 2II.3 (1584)
 Firmicus, Iulius 2II.11 (1592)
 Hesiodus quoted by Diodorus Siculus 2II.3 (1584)
 Homerus, Prince of the Poets 2II.10 (1584)
 Lycophron 2II.10 (1584)
 Martianus 2II.7 (1584)
 Mela, Pomponius 2II.4 (1584)
 Ortelius is mentioned in the cartouche of this map as its maker, Ort2II (1584)
 Ovidius 2II.7 (1584), 2II.9 (1584)
 Pausanias 2II.9 (1584), 2II.14 (1584)
 Pindarus 2II.10 (1584)
 Pintianus quoted by Plinius Bk.3 Ch.8 2II.7 (1595)
 Plinius 2II.2 (1584), 2II.9 (1584), 2II.13 (1595), 2II.14 (1606 only); quoting Pintianus Bk.3 Ch.8, 2II.7 (1595)
 Plutarchus 2II.4 (1584), : Convival. Quæst. 2II.9 (1595)
 Pollux, Iulius 2II.13 (1595); : De Manibus Bk.2, 2II.9 (1595)
 Quintillianus : Bk.6 Orat. 2II.11 (1595)
 Siculus, Diodorus 2II.4 (1584), 2II.7-8 (1584); on the authority of Hesiodus 2II.3 (1584)
 Silius 2II.2 (1592); : Bk.14 2II.7 (1584)
 Solinus 2II.6 (1584), 2II.8 (1584), 2II.12 (1584)
 Statius, Achilles: Bk.2 On Love 2II.12 (1595)
 Stephanus 2II.13 (1584)
 Strabo 2II.2 (1584), 2II.3 (1584), 2II.9 (1584), 2II.13 (1584); : Bk.6 2II.6 (1584)
 Theophrastus 2II.12 (1595)
 Thucydides 2II.8 (1584)
 Trogus: Bk.14 2II.12 (1595)

3.2.10 Ort215, Ancient Greece

Title: [in Greek lettering:] ‘Ελλάς. | GRÆ:|CIA, SO:|PHIA:|NI. | Abrahamo Ortelio |
 descriptore. [Hellas or Greece after Sophianus, depicted by Abraham Ortelius]. (bottom,
 left of centre:) Cum Priuilegio. [with privilege].

Plate size: 350 x 498 mm.

Scale: 1 : 2,500,000

Identification number: Ort215 (Koeman/Meurer: 3P, Karrow: 1/131, Van der Krogt AN:
 7800H:31).

Occurrence in Theatrum editions and page number:

- 1579L2Add70c (250 copies printed) (second text line ends: *describuntur. Prima & vera* ; last line, centred like 2 lines above it: *psere Strabo & Pausanias.*),
- 1579L(A)93 (250 copies printed) (second text line ends: *describuntur. Prima & vera* ; last line, centred like 2 lines above it: *psere Strabo & Pausanias.* ; page number 93 positioned below space between *Græciam* and *an-* of third line from the bottom.),
- 1579L(B)93 (250 copies printed) (second text line ends: *vera* ; last line, centred like two lines above it: *psere Strabo & Pausanias.* ; page number 93 positioned below space below *Græciam* of third line from the bottom.),
- 1580G2Add70c (50 copies printed), (last line, centred like 6 lines above it, in Gothic script: *Pausanias. Identical to 1580/1589G except for page number.*),
- 1580/1589G92 or blank (350 copies printed) (identical to 1602G except for page number; last line, centred like 6 lines above it, in Gothic script: *Pausanias.*),
- 1581F93 (400 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *Grece en tres-grande diligence.*),
- 1584L110 or 112 (750 copies printed) (last line, centred like two lines above it: *psere Strabo & Pausanias.*),
- 1587F111 (250 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *Grece en tresgrande diligence.*),
- 1592L13 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *ceteros diligentissimè descripsere Strabo & Pausanias.*),
- 1595LQ (500 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *niam, in Achaicis: & Vitruuium 3. cap. 1.*),
- 1598F119 (525 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *ne Grece en tres-grande diligence.*),
- 1601Lxxvij (200 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *in Achaicis: & Vitruuium 4. cap. 1.*),
- 1602G25 (250 copies printed) (identical to 1580/1589G except for page number; last line, centred like 6 lines above it, in Gothic script like the entire text: *Pausanias.*),
- 1603L rarely xxvij, mostly xxix (300 copies printed) (text and page number, but not typesetting, identical with the editions 1609/1612S/L; page number xxix below the words *consule Pausaniam* ; last line, left aligned: *Achaicis: & Vitruuium 4. cap. 1.*),
- 1606Exxvij (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *ter of his fifth booke of Architecture.*),
- 1608/1612Ixxix (300 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *contezza, studii Pausania nell'Achaia, nel 4. lib. al cap. 1. Vitruuio.*),
- 1609/1612Sxxix (text in Latin) identical to:
- 1609L/1612Lxxix (600 copies printed) (text and page number, but not typesetting, identical to 1603L. Page number xxix below the word *vides* ; last line, left aligned: *Achaicis: & Vitruuium 4. cap. 1.*),
- 1619BertiusHHH (200 copies printed) (last line, left aligned: *cis: & Vitruuium 4. cp. 1.*),
- 1624P/1641Sxxxij (1025 copies printed) (last line, second column, left aligned: *truuium lib. 4. cap. 1.*).

Approximate number of copies printed: 7275.

States: 215.1: as described;

215.2: between 1587 and 1592, the hatching along the coastlines was extended from 3 to 5 mm; the hatching on the pillar behind the right figure on the title cartouche lower left was changed from horizontal to vertical.

Cartographic sources: Nikolaus Sophianos (abt. 1500–1552 or later) made a first draft of a map of Greece around 1540 which was published by Johannes Oporinus in Basel in 1545 as an eight block woodcut map, and in 1552 in Rome as a four sheet engraved map (Meurer p. 241–242, Karrow 71/1 p. 495–498).

References: Zacharkis, 1974, nrs. 98, 102; Tolias, 2006, p. 150–182.

Remarks: Bertius bought a number of sheets with this map and included the map in his historical 1619 atlas *Theatrum Geographiae Veteris*, using the 1609/1612L *Theatrum* text, but reset.

Text, translated from the 1579/1580 Latin 2nd Add, 1579 Latin (AB), 1580 German 2nd Add/1580/1589 German, 1581 French, 1584 Latin, 1587 French, 1592 Latin, 1595 Latin, 1598 French, 1601 Latin, 1602 German, 1603 Latin, 1606 English, 1608/1612 Italian, 1609/1612 Spanish/Latin & 1624LParergon/1641 Spanish [but with Latin text] editions.

215.1. {1579/1580L2Add{Ancient Greece{1592L instead, but not in 1598F, 1602G & 1606E{Graecia or Hellas}1592L instead, but not in 1598F, 1602G}.

215.2. That country which the Romans call Graecia, Greece, was by the Greeks generally named Hellas {1580/1589G & 1602G only [in Greek lettering]}{Ελλάς}1580/1589G & 1602G only}. Yet, its borders are not described in the same way by everyone. The part of it that was truly and most anciently called Greece is that which Ptolemæus, Plinius and Pomponius Mela name Attica {1595L instead, not 1598F & 1602G{Achaia}1595L instead, not in 1598F & 1602G}, in which Athens {1606E only{the first and most flourishing university of the world}1606E only} is located, {1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G{most splendid of all, as Athenæus {1608/1612I instead{Ammianus}1608/1612I} notes, where Jupiter himself shines}1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G}. It is a free city, as Plinius calls it, and needs no further recommendations, famous and honourable as it is, {1606E only{and ever has been beyond all measure or concept of man}1606E only}. Yet it is manifest, not only from the writings of the common historiographers' sort, but also from Strabo himself, the prince of geographers, that many countries are comprised under the name of Græcia or Hellas, namely Macedonia, Epirus, Peloponnesus {1608/1612I only{or Morea}1608/1612I only}, and other provinces comprised under these names. Thus, all of Greece is on three sides bounded by the Ionian, Ægean and the Libyan seas.

215.3. Towards the main land, it contains those mountains which separate Macedonia from Thracia {1606E only{(Romania)}1606E only}, upper Mysia, {1606E only{(Servia, Bosnia and Bulgaria)}1606E only} and Dalmatia {1606E only{(now this is called Sclavonia)}1606E only}. {1592L, not in 1598F & 1602G{This is that [kind of] Greece which, {1595L{as Manilius says, is Maxima terra viris, & foecundissima doctis Urbibus, &c.}1595L}, an extended and very fertile country, with warlike men, and scholars of great learning, {1592L, not in 1598F & 1602G{which (as Cicero writes in his oration to Flacco) For honour, fame, learning, various arts and sciences, civil policy in time of peace, and feats of arms, has always been famous}1592L, not in 1598F & 1602G}, {1601L{or, as Trogus Pompeius says in his 8th book, was for valour and esteem called princess of the world}1601L}.

- 215.4. From this part of the world, as Plinius says, the bright lustre of liberal arts enlightened the world around it. {1581F, 1587F & 1598F have instead{From this part of the world, according to Plinius, all sciences have started}1581F, 1587F & 1598F instead}.
- 215.5. {1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G{In this country humanity and letters, as also discipline, {1606E & 1608/1612I instead{how to read and write, how to till the ground and sow corn}1606E & 1608/1612I instead} were first invented, as Plinius Cæcilius has left recorded in his epistle to his friend Maximus. And this is the country, he says, from where we obtained our statutes, not as victims, but because we desired to have them}1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G}.
- Macedonia occupies the largest part of Greece. A long time ago {1598F{as the empire of the world}1598F}, it encompassed Asia {1606E only{the Lesser}1606E only}, Armenia, Iberia, Albania, Cappadocia, Syria, Egypt, the mountain ranges Taurus and the Caucasus, and its rule extended to Bactria, Media, Persia and the rest of those eastern countries, even as far as India, (in this [respect] following [in] the footsteps of {not in 1580/1589G, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F, 1606E & 1608/1612I{the freemen}not in 1580/1589G, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F & 1602G} {1580/1589G, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F, 1602G, 1606E & 1608/1612I only{Bacchus and}1580/1589G, 1581F, 1587F, 1598F, 1602G, 1606E & 1608/1612I only} and of the roamings of Hercules) {1601L, not in 1602G{becoming the empress, you may say}1601L, not in 1602G}, {1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G{yes, of the whole world, as Manilius says: & Macedum tellus quæ vicerat Orbem [Macedonia was such that it conquered the world]}1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G}.
- 215.6. This is that Macedonia of 72 cities, which Emperor {1606E has instead{a Roman consul}1606E instead} Paulus Æmilius sacked and sold in one day. Then comes Peloponnesos, a peninsula {1606E only{or half-isle}1606E only}, not much inferior in terms of goodness of soil and fertility to any country, which resembles in form the leaf of a plane tree. On it you find the city of Corinthus situated between two seas, the fortress and entrance to all of Greece {1606E only{situated in the neckland or narrow place between this province and Achaia}1606E only}. Here too is Lacedæmon {1606E only{(Misithra or Zaconia, as some think, but it was in old times}1606E only} also called Sparta, instituted as a republic by Lycurgus, praised for many memorable acts performed both in war and peace {1606E instead{at home and abroad}1606E instead}.
- 215.7. But the name of Greece extended itself even further, on each side of the sea, as plainly appears from the records of the reliable writers, for was not a great portion of Italy in former times called Magna Græcia, Great Greece? In a part also of Asia, beyond the sea opposite Macedonia, quite a few settlements were established by the Greeks, and also received their name and characteristics. {1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G{Whose inhabitants are named by Plutarchus in his Laconica Apophthegmata for distinctions sake Græcos Asianos, Asian Greeks}1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G}.
- 215.8. Lucianus writes in his treatise on Love (de Amoribus) that the insulæ Chelidoniæ, {1606E only{certain small islands or rocks, as some call them, in the midland [Mediterranean] sea (they are now called Isole corrente as Castaldus thinks, or Caprose as Pinetus thinks)}1606E only} were the borders of ancient Greece. {1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G{Isocrates in his Panegyricos oration writes that the Greeks settled as far as Cnidus {1606E only{(a town in the province of Doris in Lesser Asia)}1606E only}}

- and Sinope}1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G} {1606E only{(a city of Paphlagonia in Asia, situated on the Euxine [Black] sea.
- 215.9. Chalcondylas calls it Pordapas, the Turks, as Leunclaw reports Sinabe)}1606E only}. In the same manner the Ægæan sea which beats upon the coast of Macedonia and also upon the [part of] Asia just mentioned is called{1595L only{[in Greek lettering] ‘Ελλάς}1595L only}{1601L and later instead{[in Greek lettering] ‘Ελληνικην}1601L and later instead}, {1606E instead{Hellenice thalassa}1606 instead} the Greek sea, by Thucydides, Plutarchus, {1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G{Arrianus}1595L, not in 1598F & 1602G} and Polyænus, and Græciense mare, the Greek sea, by Plinius. Strabo and Pausanias, among the rest, have described ancient Greece most diligently and interestingly}1579/1580L2Add, 1579L(AB), 1580/1589G, 1581F, 1584L, 1587F, 1592L, 1598F & 1602G end here}.
- 215.10. {1595L{About Greece in Asia, which you can see opposite Macedonia, read Pausanias’ Achaia, and Vitruvius’ first chapter of his third {1601L, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I, 1609/1612S/L & 1624LP}Parergon have instead{fourth}1601L, 1603L, 1606E, 1608/1612I, 1609/1612S/L & 1624LP}Parergon instead} book}1595L, 1601L, 1603L, 1608/1612I, 1609/1612L/S & 1624LP/1641S end here.} {1606E only{on architecture}1606E only, which ends here}.

Bibliographical sources mentioned in this text:

Ammianus 215.2 (1608 only)
 Arrianus 215.9 (1595)
 Athenæus 215.2 (1595)
 Cæcilius, Plinius: Epistle to Maximus 215.5 (1595)
 Castaldus 215.8 (1606 only)
 Chalcondylas 215.9 (1606 only)
 Cicero: Oratio for Flaccus 215.3 (1592)
 Isocrates: Panegyricos 215.8 (1595)
 Leunclaw 215.9 (1606 only)
 Lucianus: De Amoris 215.8 (1579)
 Lycurgus 215.6 (1579)
 Manilius 215.3 [Astronomica Bk.4, line 686](1595), 215.5 [Astronomica Bk..4 line 762] (1595)
 Mela, Pomponius 215.2 (1579)
 Ortelius is mentioned in the cartouche of this map as its editor, Ort215 (1579)
 Pausanias 215.9 (1579); : Achaia 215.10 (1595)
 Pinetus 215.8 (1606 only)
 Plinius 215.2 (1579), 215.4 (1579) (1581), 215.9 (1579)
 Plutarchus 215.9 (1579); : Laconia Apothegmata 215.7 (1595)
 Polyænus 215.9 (1579)
 Ptolemæus 215.2 (1579)
 Sophianus, mentioned in the cartouche of this map as its designer, Ort215 (1579)
 Strabo, prince of Geographers 215.2 (1579), 215.9 (1579)
 Thucydides 215.9 (1579)
 Trogius Pompeius: Bk.8, 215.3 (1601)
 Vitruvius: Bk.1 Ch.4 Architecture 215.10 (1595)

Note

- 1 Frayn, M. 1999. *Headlong*, p. 181-182.

4 Text on the map and its relation to its text *on verso*

4.1 Introduction

After having provided the full translations of the map texts *on verso* of the map texts of our choice in the previous chapter, we will now shortly discuss the texts on the maps themselves, and see if any of the information contained in these texts is also found in the map texts *on verso*. Conversely we will also examine if any information provided in the *on verso* texts can be retrieved in text blocks on the maps themselves.

4.2 What text can be found on each map?

Every map in the *Theatrum* shows different types of texts on its surface as one of its standard features, next to images of rivers, seas, coastlines, mountain ranges etc. These texts consist of topographical information in the form of names of countries and/or people, place-names, often with their names in ancient times appended, some of them mentioned to be of uncertain location, sea names including bays and capes, river names including inlets, creeks and mouths, then lakes, swamps, islands, mountain ranges and dunes, orientations, scales, degrees and often a privilege, cartouches often with the name of the source or the dedicatee, and finally text blocks. The number of topographical names in Ortelius' atlas on one double-folio map varies widely, from as few as 115 on the Utopia map (Ort 234), to more than 2000 on for instance the second Prussia map (Ort 157). The average number of place names on Ortelius maps is about 1000. The later Vrients maps are on average larger, but also more densely covered with topographical names engraved in smaller letters, amounting to an average of about 2500.

We have just introduced the notion of text block. A text block consists either of a short sentence of one line of meaningful text only, almost always in Latin, (though some text blocks of Italy maps have text blocks in Italian) possibly a quote from a classical author, or it may consist of many such lines of text, together physically covering a considerable area, often in a square, block-like format. Text blocks may exhibit a clear relation to their surroundings, (like: here are silver mines) or, more rarely, they might have been placed anywhere on the map because there is no relation with any specific location.

The occurrence of text blocks is very unpredictable, as is their length. Some maps such as Russia (Ort 162) have many text blocks, presumably also to hide areas about which little or nothing is known. This resembles the choice of location for many cartouches. But most maps have no text blocks at all.

Table 4.1 Schematic representation of a double folio map sheet divided into 15 labelled areas indicative of the location of place names on a map.

A1	B1	C1	D1	E1
A2	B2	C2	D2	E2
A3	B3	C3	D3	E3

The text blocks will only be presented in translation. For the original text in Latin, as also for cartouches with authors and/or with dedications, and for their translations, the reader is referred to the previous chapter and/or to the digital Appendix which contains high resolution pictures of all of the ten maps discussed for each edition in which the map appears.

In the next section of this chapter, we will deal with the relation of these text blocks on the maps themselves with the texts *on verso*. But let us first make an inventory of the text blocks in order to allow for such a comparison. The inventory of text blocks and some text lines of our ten maps is presented in table 4.2. To indicate the location of a text block, each individual map image has been divided into five columns of equal width called A to E and into three rows of equal height called 1 to 3, rather like a simplified chessboard. This results in 15 map rectangles which are almost squares. The location of any feature can now be labelled as belonging to one of these 15 blocks, beginning in the upper left corner with A1, and ending in the lower right corner with E3. When a text block occurs over more than one of these 15 squares, both (or more) are mentioned. This way to locate texts on the map sheet is sufficient to give an immediate but approximate indication where the text in question is to be found on the map, see also table 4.1.

Whenever there is a link between a text block on a map (labelled as regards its location as indicated above), and its text *on verso*, the paragraph number of that paragraph is given indicating that a similar remark occurs *on verso* (e.g. §8.3 indicates paragraph 3 in the text *on verso* of map Ort8, Africa resembles a text block on the map itself).

4.3 Text blocks mentioned or elaborated on in the texts *on verso* and referrals from texts *on verso* to text blocks on map plates

After the text blocks shown in table 4.2 had been collected and translated, every text block was searched for in the text *on verso*. Whenever some sort of a match was found, the corresponding text paragraph reference was inserted in the table.

It turned out that very few of the text blocks occurring on the map plate could be found in shortened, similar or more elaborated form in the text *on verso*. Of the 48 text blocks found on the map plates, only 8 or about 16% could also be identified in the text *on verso*. Mostly, there was no elaboration in the form of additional information in the text *on verso* but only a repetition of the text block of the map itself.

On the other hand, there is extremely frequent referral from texts *on verso* of a map to the map itself. There is no point in collecting and listing these referrals, since there is hardly any *on verso* map text at all which does not refer to the map itself. The phrasing is usually: ‘as you can see for yourself on the map/table’. This is not only true for lists of place names often provided in the texts *on verso* of the maps but also when discussing the course of rivers, the position of capes, islands etc, location of regions and tribes with respect to one another, borders etc.

Most remarkably, the map with by far the greatest amount of text blocks, viz. Russia, does not have a single text block which refers to the comments *on verso*. Clearly, the text blocks on maps are independent pieces of information which Ortelius expected to be of interest to the reader (of Latin), and they never refer explicitly to the text *on verso* whereas there is constant referral from the texts *on verso* to the map itself. The maps, including their text blocks, are independent conveyers of cartographic information, and do not need the text *on verso* to serve their purpose. As noted, this may also explain why loose maps were requested by customers and sold to them throughout the life of Ortelius’ atlas, without text being printed *on verso*.

Table 4.2 Inventory of maps and their text blocks.

Map number	Name of map	Translated content of text blocks
8	Africa	Nubia, once drenched in Christianity, is nowadays hardly professing to any religion (C1); Here the river Niger flows underground for sixty miles (C1); Zanzibar this is called by Persian and Arabic writers; this part of Southern Africa was unknown to the ancients. (C3), (§ 8.23); Mecca. Here Mohammed’s grave can be visited (D1); Here rules far and wide the great leader Presbiter Iohannes, the most powerful King of all Africa (D2) (§ 8.3); The Barbarian Gulf, which by Ptolemaeus is also called the Rough Sea (E2); This island is by its inhabitants called Madagascar, by the Spanish Saint Laurentius, and was in old times by Ptolemaeus called Memithias, and was probably by Plinius called Cerne (E3) (§ 8.23).
18	Scotia	Lake Lomond is afflicted by great tempests, and the fish in it have no bones. (B2) (§ 18.6); The Hebrides islands, also called Hebudes, Beda calls them Mevanias. (C1); Lake Ness, which never freezes, which is also the case for the river Ness. (C2).
58	Low Countries	No text blocks
129	Lacvs Comensis, olim Larivs; Friuli; Vrbis Romae Terretorivm	The library of Paulus Iovius, where there was once the plane tree of Plinius, famous from his letters (A1); Brandellus castle, a work of King Luitprandus (A1); Como, the native city of the two Plinies (A1) (§ 129.4) Mount Busbinus, with a watch tower and temple of the Virgin, equal to God (B1); On the top of this cape was the mansion of Plinius, which he used to call Tragedia (C1); The region of Gessima, famous for its pleasant southern wine (C2); In these mountains black marble is found (C2); Here are quarries of white marble (CD1); Cultonius fields, famous for its generous wine (CD1); Not far from Olonia was the tower of the city of Volturrena, as appears from numerous traces (DE1); Mount Setius, from which three rivers originate (CD2); Mount Mauris, where you find the spring of the river Tagliamento (C2); The river Livenza, once called Liquentia, separates Forum Iulium from Marchia Trivigiana (CD3); Avensiono; this is the border of the realm of the Venetians and that of the Dukes of Austria. (D2); The city and island of Grado; here the ivory seat of Saint Marcus is kept. (DE3) (§ 129.24); Here are mines of quicksilver (E2); Prosecho, once called Pucinum. From here comes wine, highly praised by Plinius (E3) (§ 129.14c).

(Table 4.2 Continued)

Map number	Name of map	Translated content of text blocks
150	Hvngaria	Verthes, in Hungarian called Baton, in German Schiltberg, because, as the story goes, Emperor Henricus III had pitched his camp here against king Bela of Hungary, and was forced by hunger to give up this camp, leaving his shields behind. (B2); How to read Hungarian. The letters CH sound in Hungarian as CZ. The S is the letter for SCH. The Z is the letter for simple S in Hungarian. Finally, the W is the letter standing for VY. (E3).
160	Scandia	Here is where the Pygmies live. (C1).
162	Rvssia aut potius Magni Dvcis Moscoviae Imp.	This part of Lithuania is under the rule of the Russian Emperor. (A2); Zlata Baba, that is golden granny, is devotedly worshipped by the Odorians and Iougorians. The priest consults this Idol about what to do and where to go and (it is a wonder to relate) she gives clear answers to those consulting her, leading to certain outcomes. (D1); From Manguslato to Shaijsure is a journey of 20 days without encampments and with an exceeding shortage of water. From Shaijsure to Bogar is a similar distance, infested by robbers (CD23); The small city of Corasan has been captured by the King of Persia with the assistance of the Tartars in 1558 (CD3); These rocks, which have the shapes of people, cattle, camels and other animals and things were once a group of shepherds and their flocks who suddenly petrified in an amazing metamorphosis, without changing their previous appearance. This miracle took place 300 years ago. (DE1); The inhabitants of this region adore the sun or a red cloth hanging from a pole. They live their lives in fortresses and eat the meat of animals, snakes and worms, and they have their own language. (E1); The Kirgessen people live in troops or hordes. They have the following custom: when a priest performs a religious ceremony, he obtains blood, milk and dung of beasts of burden, and mixes it with earth. He pours this in a specific vessel and climbs a tree with it, and when there is a gathering, he sprinkles it over the people, and this sprinkling is considered to be divine, and is worshipped. When someone of them dies, that person is hung up in a tree by way of burial. (DE2); Samarkand was once the capital of all of Tartary, but now it has decayed to ruins, with many remnants from antiquity. Here Tamerlan lies buried, once the captor of the ruler of the Turks, Bayasid. He took him as a prisoner and abducted him, bound in gold chains. The inhabitants are Muslims. (DE3); Cascara. When travelling from here for thirty days, one reaches the borders of the Empire of Cathay [China]. The distance between these borders and Cambala is a journey of three months. (E3).
166	India	The borders of Persia, or the Empire of the Sophies, extend all the way to the river Indus. (A1); Of the famous Moluccas islands there are next to Gilolo five, exporting all over the world a great abundance of fragrant spices, namely Tarenate, Tidore, Motir, Machia and Bachia. (E2); New Guinea, which seems to be called Piccinaculusland by Andreas Corsalus. Whether this is an island or part of the South Land is uncertain. (E3).
211	Ancient Sicily	Places of Ancient Sicily or uncertain or formerly unknown location, (followed by a 7-column list) (A3); Places in the Syracuse area or uncertain location, Acrillæ, Echelta and Magella (A12); The Erij or Eræi mountains, admirable for their fertility. (D2); Lake Pergus, also the navel of Sicily. Here Proserpina was captured by Pluto. (CD2) (§211.4) Mount Aetna, pillar of heaven, according to Pindarus. (DE2); <i>Locaricum</i> and the cities near the olive trees between the isles of <i>Hijccara</i> and <i>Lilijbaeus</i> (AB2, erased after 1592). [No text blocks have been given which are restricted to providing different place names according to different classical authors].
215	Ancient Greece	no text blocks

On the other hand, the texts *on verso* heavily depend on the maps they discussed, and refer to the map constantly.

This finding supports the argumentation given previously for considering Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* as the first modern atlas, as given by Van der Krogt, 1998, p. 55-78. What is considered as a crucial innovation by Ortelius, entitling his work to be called the first modern atlas, is that it is not a textbook illustrated with cartographical images, but a map book with maps of uniform size covering the world as then known, **with supporting text**. The maps have priority over the texts, and can do without them, whereas the texts *on verso* on the whole are rather meaningless without the maps they discuss. This may not be true for all *Parergon* maps, but it is certainly true for all 'modern' maps included in the *Theatrum*.

Does this mean that we had better leave the texts *on verso* alone? On the contrary, as I hope to demonstrate in the next chapters.



5 Characteristics, developments and transparency of translated map texts

5.1 Introduction

We begin our analysis of the map texts presented in translated form in chapter 3 by returning to the original map texts in the various different languages as presented in our digital appendix.

Our first approach will be of a purely quantitative nature: for all ten map texts we will count the number of words contained in the earliest and the last edition of the *Theatrum*. For the scholarly version of each map, the first edition of the *Theatrum*, 1570 Latin(A), contains among others seven of our maps (Africa, Low Countries, Como-Rome-Friuli, Hungary, Nordic Regions, Russia and the East Indies). For one map text, viz. Scotland the 1573 Latin 3rd Add/1573 Latin (A) edition is the earliest edition that can be used, and for the remaining *Parergon* map texts Ancient Sicily the 1584 Latin 3rd Add/1584 Latin edition is the earliest. Finally, for Ancient Greece, the 1579 Latin 2nd Add/1579 Latin (A) map text is the earliest. The last and latest edition for the first 8 maps is the 1609/1612 Latin edition; for the two *Parergon* maps, the 1624 Latin *Parergon* text is the last and latest. Choosing the first and last edition in which a map text occurs maximises our chances to find textual developments as postulated in chapter 1.

In a similar fashion, for analysis of the map texts in vernacular editions, we chose the 1571 Dutch text for seven texts of the 'modern' maps, and the 1573 Dutch 1st Add/1573 Dutch for the eighth map, viz. the Scotland map. In all instances, the last vernacular texts are contained in the 1598/1610/1613 Dutch edition. The *Parergon* maps have no vernacular text version. Our emphasis in this analytical chapter will be on the development of instruments to compare similar texts across languages, rather than on the specific results obtained.

5.2 Word counts and textual characteristics

To minimise chances of making mistakes in the word counts of map texts, each map text (as contained in our digital appendix) received a number for each text line, starting with 1. The last word or part of a word was noted down, and words per line were then counted by moving the cursor word by word from the end to the beginning of each line, and recording the number of words in that line. Names and numbers count as one word, a capital initial in front of a name and the symbol & also counted as a word, and words broken over the line end were counted as belonging to that line. In Latin, this procedure was quite straightforward, but the Dutch texts presented numerous ambiguities mostly concerning word boundaries: often two different lexical items are presented without a space as word boundary (e.g. *wildemen* -> wilde men, *isser* -> is er, *dats* -> dat is, *soudese* -> zouden ze, *consacrerense* -> consacreren ze). Further, articles, particularly

Table 5.1 Word count of 10 map texts as a function of edition (earliest/latest) and text version (scholarly/vernacular).

Map name	Earliest scholarly text version	Latest scholarlytext version	Change in %	Earliest vernacular text version	Latest vernacular text version	Change in %
Africa	479	624	30.2	827	814	-1.6
Scotland	1065	1091	2.4	1356	1388	2.8
Low Countries	423	1008	138.3	687	687	0.0
Como-Rome-Friuli	511	520	1.8	611	611	0.0
Hungary	467	510	9.2	838	838	0.0
Nordic Regions	402	788	96.0	1036	1036	0.0
Russia	435	451	3.7	725	725	0.0
East Indies	443	518	16.9	607	607	0.0
Ancient Sicily	653	804	23.1			
Ancient Greece	296	431	45.6	No vernacular texts		
Merged	5174	6745	30.3	6687	6706	0.3

the neutral *het* were often linked to the next word, but not in a consistent fashion. This prompted disentanglement of these combinations (which also occur by themselves in these texts in a non-merged form, necessitating uniformity). Thus *opde* was counted as: *op de*, *oft* as: *of het*, *int* as: *in het*, *Dlandt* as: *Het land*, *mette(n)* as: *met de*, *totte* as: *tot de*, *diemen* as: *die men*. These examples have also been counted as two words. Causes for the spelling discrepancies found in Dutch, but not in Latin may be due to the highly inflectional nature of Latin, leading to fewer, but mostly longer words per Latin line, more importantly, Latin had in Ortelius' time a writing history covering almost 2000 years and Latin spelling petrified around 100 A.D. But Dutch texts, in this case written by a Flemish speaker like Ortelius, consisted mostly of his own written down speech, and these texts, by lack of a prestige dialect, were necessarily of a dialectal nature, and closer to pronunciation than present day written Dutch.

The results of the word count procedure are presented in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 allows us to make the following observations:

1. The assumption often found in introductory works that Ortelius assiduously worked at updating and improving his atlas maps¹ (and presumably his map texts as well) turns out to be more complex in view of our present results. Let us first look at the scholarly map texts. Some map texts, notably of the Low Countries map, increase spectacularly in size. The merged results also show an increase in text size of almost one third. But this is by no means a general phenomenon. Map texts which may be assumed to be close to Ortelius' heart do indeed increase, but others show very little increase in size, notably Scotland (which is the largest text), or Como, Hungary and Russia. Next to personal affinity to particular countries on the part of Ortelius, a much more mundane factor presumably also played a role. Ortelius tries to keep the map texts restricted to a size fit to print on one folio sheet viz. the right half of the *verso* of the map. One way of achieving this is to decrease the font size of the text when this text increases in number of words. But font size cannot continue to be reduced at will because legibility decreases correspondingly and it also becomes more difficult for the

eyes of the reader to jump from the text end of one line to the beginning of the next text line. Texts with the smallest font size, about point 4, can be found on some *Parergon* that are not included in the present analysis. Texts grow further to two folio-sized text pages *on verso* of the map. When these two pages could no longer contain new text Ortelius wrote, extra text pages were finally inserted. The 1624 *Parergon* is the first atlas edition where the principle of trying to contain all text on *verso* of the map itself was completely abandoned. Font size returned to normal, very much to the comfort of the reader. Text was now for the first time printed in two columns. Text pages were inserted wherever needed, and this became the practice that was taken over and continued in the Dutch atlases of the 17th century, which usually contain many text pages for each map.

Returning to the most spectacular text size increase we find in table 5.1, viz. that of the Low Countries, an objective reason for this increase can be found. In this map text *on verso*, Ortelius complains that a mix-up between Latin, Dutch, French, Spanish and German exonyms² has led to deplorable mistakes in the cartographic literature (of which quite a few examples are given in the text). As a solution to prevent those studios in geography to make the same mistake, he introduces a list of exonyms of places in the Low Countries in Dutch, French, German, Italian and Spanish *on verso* which list further expands over the editions. Incidentally, something similar happens in other map texts. The Hungary map itself (rather than its text *on verso*) gives exonyms in Hungarian and German.

The remaining maps do exhibit a considerable increase in text which will be discussed below.

2. The vernacular editions present a different picture as compared to the scholarly ones. Most vernacular map texts show no development in size whatsoever. The Africa map text shows a very modest decrease in size, the Scotland map text shows a very modest increase in size, but the other six map texts remain utterly stable, as if no longer deserving attention, this in contrast to the scholarly texts. Clearly, Ortelius found it important to write texts for those interested in his *Theatrum* who had no command of Latin but were still interested to read about the countries shown on the maps of the *Theatrum*. However, these vernacular texts hardly show any development. French, Dutch and early German *on verso* texts were deemed satisfactory by Ortelius in their original form and were not changed. The German editions are of a more complex nature. The early German texts (1572/1573) converge with the other vernacular texts, viz. French and Dutch. But from the second and more clearly the third German *Additamentum* onwards, which began to include an increasing number of *Parergon* texts, a switch was made. From the 1580/1589 German edition onwards, the Latin texts from initially the Latin *Additamenta* served as their text model. The French 2nd *Additamentum* does not seem to have been made at all; the 3rd French *Additamentum* is extremely rare, and a 4th and 5th French *Additamentum* were never produced. After the 1st Dutch *Additamentum*, no further Dutch *Additamenta* appeared. Thus, next to the 5 Latin *Additamenta*, the 5 German *Additamenta* were the only ones considered to be of scholarly significance. Since the Spanish, English and Italian *Theatrum* editions contained texts which were translated from Latin, they do not show vernacular map texts at all. This conclusion leads to a revision of the provisional model of the *Theatrum* editions and their textual relations as presented in Chapter 2 figure 2.1. which is presented here as figure 5.5.

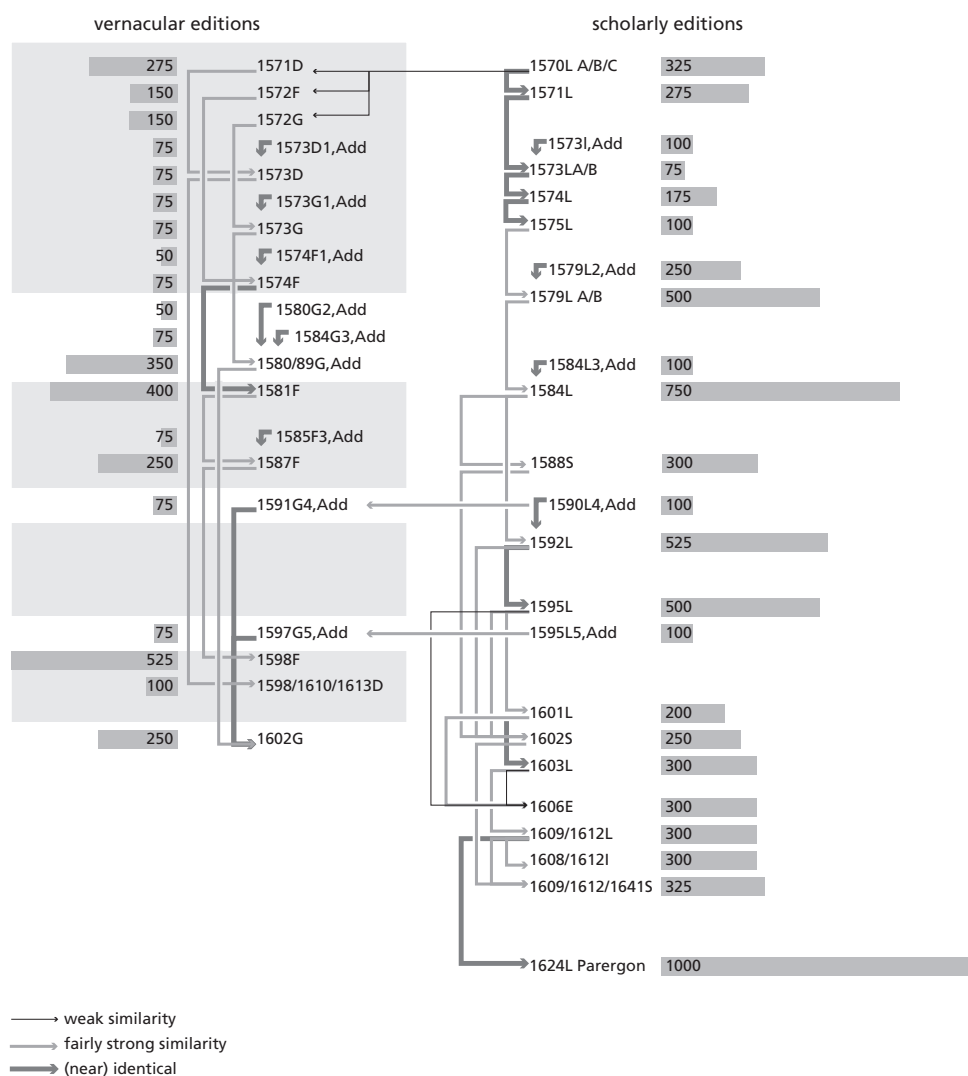


Figure 5.1 Relatedness of text and number of copies printed for all atlas editions and additamenta. The vertical axis represents time, bar-length indicates number of copies printed.

5.3 Characteristics of text modifications

5.3.1 Additions

Now, an attempt will be made to discuss the nature of the changes in map texts over time. We have already established that in most map texts, notably in the scholarly versions, additions are the most frequent form of modification. We will among these additions distinguish between the introduction of new sources in the form of new authors (sometimes including the name of their

work or works) and other inserts as given below. Example: {1574L{but also consult the works of John Major, the Scot}1574L}.

Next, there are also additions in the form of geographical information. Example: {1573L{But these are islands in the Ægean sea}1573L}.

Then there are additions in the form of a general, non-informative or somewhat ornamental nature. Example: {1580/1589G{But that is not the subject presently under discussion}1580/1589G}.

Finally, there may be additional numerical information. Example: This stone is 24 feet high {1580/1589G & 1602G only{or eight cubits [ells]}1580/1589G & 1602G only}. All additions will be provided with the date of the edition in which they occur.

5.3.2 Omissions

Omissions consist of lack of that we might reasonably expect on the basis of earlier text. A text introduced in a certain scholarly or vernacular edition is as a rule expected to return in all later scholarly or vernacular editions. If this is not the case, it is indicated in the translated text as {1579L, not in 1584L{some text}1579L, not in 1584L}. These omissions may concern authors, geographical information, general information or numerical information, as we distinguished for additions, and likewise will be provided with specification for each edition.

5.3.3 Replacements

Replacements are indicated in the translated map text as {1581F instead{some text}1581F instead}. The replacement takes the place of some other text that has previously been encountered. Replacements will also be categorised as concerning authors, geographical information, general information and numerical information, and be specified per edition.

Using this approach, we expect to gain additional insight in the nature of the developments, omissions and changes of map texts over time.

First, we present our findings concerning the two map text versions of the Africa map (Ort8).

Table 5.2 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the scholarly map texts of Africa.

Modifications of <i>Africa</i> scholarly texts (total number: 35)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	numb.
1571		1										
1573					1		1					
1574	2	1										
1579	2											
1580			1				1					
1584			1									
1588												
1592	3										1	
1601	1											
1602G	1		1				3					
1602S											1	
1606	2		4				1				1	
1608I	1	2									1	
1609S											1	
All	12	4	7	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	5	0

Table 5.3 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the vernacular map texts of Africa.

Modifications of <i>Africa</i> vernacular texts (total number: 12)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	numb.
1572F							1				2	
1572G										3		
1581F							1			2		
1598F							1			2		
All	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	7	2	0

Before discussing these results, we shall first present the characteristics of the remaining 9 map texts, and the results in merged form over all 10 maps.

Table 5.4 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the scholarly map texts of Scotland.

Modifications of <i>Scotland</i> scholarly texts (total number: 67)											
Year	Insertions			Omissions			Replacements				
	Author	geog.	general numb.	author	geog.	general numb.	author	geog.	general numb.	author	geog.
1574		1									
1579	1										
1580		2	1	1	2			2		2	
1584			1								
1588			2		1						
1592		1									
1595		2									
1601		2									
1602G		2	1	1	2			3		2	
1602S		1	2		1						
1603		1									
1606		9	6		1	2		1		1	
1608		3				2					1
1609S			2		1						
1609L		1									
All	1	25	15	0	2	8	4	0	0	6	0

Table 5.5 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the vernacular map texts of Scotland.

Modifications of <i>Scotland</i> vernacular texts (total number: 13)											
Year	Insertions			Omissions			Replacements				
	Author	geog.	general numb.	author	geog.	general numb.	author	geog.	general numb.	author	geog.
1573G					1	2					
1574			1					1			
1581			1					1			
1587			1								
1598D		1			2						
1598F			1		1			1			
All	0	1	4	0	0	4	2	0	0	3	0

Table 5.6 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the scholarly map texts of the Low Countries.

Modifications of <i>Low Countries</i> scholarly texts (total number: 115)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	numb
1571L		1									1	
1574	1											
1575		1										
1579	1	1										
1580		14	6								1	
1588		13	7									
1592	2	1										
1595	1	1	1						1			
1601		1				1	1		1			
1602G		15	8		2						1	
1602S		14	7			2						
1603										1		
1606		4				1	2		1			
All	5	66	29	0	2	4	3	0	0	4	3	0

Table 5.7 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the vernacular map texts of the Low Countries.

Modifications of <i>Low Countries</i> vernacular texts (total number: 20)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	numb
1572/73 G			1			1	1				1	
1572/74 F			3									
1581			3				1					
1587			3				1					
1598D			1									
1598F			3				1					
All	0	0	14	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	1	0

Table 5.8 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the scholarly map texts of Como-Friuli-Rome.

Modifications of <i>Como-Rome-Friuli</i> scholarly texts (total number: 60)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	numb
1571L	2	1	2				2					
1573	1	1										
1574	1	1										
1575	1	1										
1579	2											
1580			1			1					3	
1584							1					
1588			1				1				1	
1592	2						1					
1595	1						1					
1601	1											
1602G					4	1					1	
1602S			1	1			2				1	
1603	1											
1606	1		4								1	1
1608	2	1	1				1					
1609L	1						1					
1609S			1		1		1				1	
All	16	5	11	1	5	4	9	0	0	0	8	1

Table 5.9 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the vernacular map texts of Como-Friuli-Rome.

Modifications of <i>Como-Rome-Friuli</i> vernacular texts (total number: 10)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general numb.	
1572/73 G											1	
1572/74 F											1	
1581			1								1	
1587							1				1	
1598D		1	1									
1598 F							1				1	
All	0	1	2				2				5	

Table 5.10 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the scholarly map texts of Hungary.

Modifications of <i>Hungary</i> scholarly texts (total number: 46)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	numb
1573	2											
1579	1											
1580		3			1	1						
1588	1											
1592		1										
1595	1											
1602G		3			3	1						
1602S					1							
1606		17	1			1	1		1		1	
1608		1	2						1			
1609S					1							
All	5	25	3	0	6	3	1	0	0	2	1	0

There are no modifications in the vernacular text of Hungary.

Table 5.11 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the scholarly map texts of the Northern Regions.

Modifications of <i>Northern Regions</i> scholarly texts (total number: 32)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	numb
1571L	1											
1573	1	2										
1580			1				1					
1588											2	
1595	1	1			1							
1601	1											
1602G			1		1	1						
1602S											2	
1603					1							
1606		3	1		1	1			1			
1608	1	2			1	1						
1609L					1							
1609S											1	
All	5	8	3	0	0	6	4	0	0	1	5	0

Table 5.12 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the vernacular map texts of the Nordic Regions.

Modifications of <i>Northern Regions</i> vernacular texts (total number: 13)											
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements		
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general numb
1572/74 F			2				1				
1581			2				1				
1587			2				1				
1598F			2				1				
All	0	0	8	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1 0

Table 5.13 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the scholarly map texts of Russia.

Modifications of <i>Russia</i> scholarly map texts (total number: 32)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	Numb
1580			1									
1588	1		1			1		1				
1592	2											
1595	1											
1601	1											
1602G			1		1							
1602S	2		1		1							
1603	1											
1606		1	5			1				1		1
1608	1	1	2					1				
1609S			1		1							
All	9	2	12	0	3	2	2	0	0	1	0	1

Table 5.14 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the vernacular map texts of Russia.

Modifications of <i>Russia</i> vernacular texts (total number: 1)											
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements		
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general Numb
1572/73 G		1				1					
All	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 5.15 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the scholarly map texts of the East Indies.

Modifications of <i>East Indies</i> scholarly texts (total number: 42)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	Numb
1573	1											
1574	1											
1580											1	
1584	1											
1588							1					
1592	1	1	1									
1595	2		1									
1602G					5	1						1
1602S					1		1					
1603											1	
1606		7	4									
1608	2	3					1					2
1609S			1		1							
All	8	11	7	0	7	1	3	0	0	0	5	0

The vernacular map text of the East Indies shows no changes whatever in the course of time.

Table 5.16 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the map texts of the Parergon map of Ancient Sicily.

Modifications of <i>Ancient Sicily</i> (total number: 94)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author	geog.	general	numb.	author	geog.	general	numb	author	geog.	general	Numb
1584L												1
1584G3Add	1	1	1		2	4	2					1
1585F3/1587		4			2	4	1		1	1		
1592L	5											
1595L	8											
1602G	1	1	1		9	4	2					1
1606 E	2	8	12						2			1
1608I		2	4			1			2	2		
All	17	16	18	0	13	13	5	0	0	5	3	4

Table 5.17 Distribution of modifications as a function of type and time for the map texts of the Parergon map of Ancient Greece.

Modifications of <i>Ancient Greece</i> texts (total number: 83)												
Year	Insertions				Omissions				Replacements			
	Author geog.		general numb.		author geog.		general numb.		author geog.		generalNumb	
1579L2/1579			1									
1580G3Add/1580			1								1	
1581F											2	
1584L			1									
1587F											2	
1592L	1	1	1						1			
1595L	8	2	1									
1598F		1			7	3					1	
1601L	1		3									1
1602G		1			6	4	1				1	
1603L			1									1
1606 E	2	11	2			1					4	1
1608I		1							1		2	1
1609L			1									
1624L			1									
All	12	17	13	0	13	8	1	0	1	1	13	4

Continuing our quantitative approach, we now present a summary of all modifications as table 5.18.

Table 5.18 Summary of map text modifications scholarly versus vernacular version.

Summary of all map text modifications		
Map name	Scholarly version	Vernacular version
Africa (Ort8)	35	12
Scotland (Ort18)	67	13
Low Countries (Ort58)	115	20
Como-Rome-Friuli (Ort129)	58	9
Hungary (Ort150)	46	0
Nordic Regions (Ort160)	32	13
Russia (Ort162)	33	1
East Indies (Ort166)	42	0
Ancient Sicily (Ort211)	94	-
Ancient Greece (Ort215)	80	-
All maps	602	68
Average number of modifications per map text	60.2	8.5

5.4 Discussion of scholarly vs. vernacular map texts

We cannot, nor do we need to perform a statistical analysis on the data just presented to conclude that the differences encountered above, both on the level of word count, and on the level of text modifications over time, are highly meaningful. We are confident to find similar data in the texts of the 216 other atlas maps that Ortelius produced for his atlas which are not analysed here. Stated in its most simple form, we must conclude that the scholarly texts show a continuous development over time, whereas the vernacular texts remain mostly or in some cases fully stable. How to explain this difference? Was it negligence on the part of author Ortelius to cater for the needs of his non-Latin readers? Or was this just laziness on the part of Ortelius, considering this readership without higher education unimportant enough not to provide them with new information? This explanation does not seem very likely when we read information provided by Sweertius, a contemporary citizen of Antwerp and Ortelius' friend, who wrote a mini-biography of Ortelius shortly after his death in 1598 which first appeared in the *Theatrum* from 1603 onwards. I quote (in modernised form) from the English edition of 1606: '...During his entire life, he was as unselfish as any man could be. He never set his mind on the riches of this world, or any of those matters, always keeping in mind the saying *Contemno et orno, mente, manu*. 'I scorn and adorn with mind and hand'. Surely, this man had some heavenly guidance, which withdrew him so completely from everyday worries, that the worst and most upsetting that might happen to him was to be interrupted from studying his books, which he preferred above anything in this world'. This quote does not point to laziness. Nor do Ortelius' constant revisions and additions to his toponymic works, the *Synonymia*, *Nomenclator*, and *Thesaurus* which await further exploration and analysis.

Can the reason for not updating the vernacular texts of his atlases be found in the fact that they did not sell as well as the scholarly ones? When we see in figure 2.1 and 5.1 that the number of atlases with scholarly texts sold was about 5 times larger than that of atlases with vernacular texts, this might be arguable. Yet, the vernacular texts were written in 1571, when Ortelius could not yet have been fully aware what a commercial success his atlas was going to be. So he must have decided as early as 1570 that there was a need for vernacular texts, and he must have had good reasons for leaving these vernacular texts as they were. These reasons may be found in the needs and expectations of their prospective readers. Ortelius realised quite early that there were two different kinds of people sufficiently interested in his atlas and wealthy enough to buy.

The scholarly texts were written for academics, to whom Ortelius himself belonged, even though he never went to university. His lack of a formal academic education was amply compensated by his self-study of Greek and Latin, and by his intensive contacts with great scholars throughout western and central Europe, as evidenced by his intensive correspondence with these scholars, and by his *Liber Amicorum*. To these readers, he wanted to show that he spared no efforts to keep his texts up-to-date. He also wanted to demonstrate that he was fully at home in the classical literature as well as in contemporary geographical sources of information. His pride that e.g. his *Ancient Sicily* map contained more place names than any of his classical sources (and those toponyms that he could not identify were yet mentioned on this map as 'places of uncertain location' to show that he was fully aware of their existence) demonstrates that he strove to attain completeness and perfection, as a good academic may be expected to do.

Most vernacular texts differ markedly from the scholarly ones. They were written with non-academics in mind, who also might have a keen interest in geography, but who did not study and could not read Latin. Among those were his numerous artistic friends, see Meganck 2003, city and government officials who belonged to his circle of friends and to whom maps were often dedicated. Then there were merchants like Ortelius' friend Ægidius Hooftman, supposedly the person who prompted him to make an atlas at all. All these people had an interest to see the world as known in 1570, condensed into one handy book. But they had no interest in quotes from and references to the classical authors, because they could and would not read them, and because they were too distant from their world. In his *Message to the Reader* of the first Dutch atlas edition of 1571 (see also chapter 1), he explains the absence of a *Catalogus Auctorum*, *Synonymia* (and presumably scholarly texts) simply by saying:

De rugghen oft achterste syden van desen Caerten, om dat ons dochte on-aenghenaem sijn den Lesere gheheel wit voor de nuese te stooten; hebben vvy daer van elck (nae ons verstandt dat vvy daer af hadden) vvat gheschreuen, dvvelck de Lesere voor een rust-plaetse oft vvt-spanninghe besighen mach daer hy (ver-moeyt sijnde van gaene) sinen adem vvat verhaele, eer hy voorder reyst. Dit is alle het ghene dat vvy u in dit ons Duytsche Theatre gheuen. Het verhael der Auteuren van Land-Tafelen; ende der Boecken, die in dese Professie gheschreuen hebben; oock het Register der Ouder en Nieuwver naemen van Steden ende Landen, etc. dvvelck al in ons Latijnsche Theatre te siene is, hebben vvy hier achter-ghelaten; dat selfde on-noodich ende onprofytelyck achtende voor de duytschen Lesere. Vaert vvel, ende gebruyckt onsen arbeyt. Wt Antwerpen.1571.

[My translation: As concerns the back or reverse side of these maps, because we thought it to be unpleasant for the reader to poke his nose at them being completely white, we have about each map (as far as we knew about it) written something which may represent a place of rest or recreation, where he (tired from all the travelling) may regain his breath before he resumes his travels. This is all that we give you in this Dutch Theatre. The story of the authors of the maps, and of the books that people in this profession have written, as also the register of ancient and modern names of cities and countries etc. which can be found in our Latin Theatre, we have omitted here, considering it useless and unprofitable for the reader of Dutch. Farewell, and use our labour].

As noted, the readers of vernacular *Theatrum* editions were not looking for Latin quotes and references which they could not understand anyway. Therefore Ortelius calls such information 'useless & unprofitable' for his vernacular readership. In those cases where the vernacular texts *on verso* resembled the scholarly ones, as is for instance the case for the Scotland map text, it is largely stripped of authors and their books.

Further examples in this study are the maps of Africa (where the highly interesting discussion on the complex relation between closeness to the sun vs. blackness of the inhabitants of such regions is retained in the vernacular version), Russia and East Indies. Clear differences can be found in the Low Countries map texts, where the scholarly text in 1574 starts with a list of exonyms for place names which keeps expanding, while this entire discussion is omitted in the vernacular text, being considered unpleasant for those not studious in geography.

Table 5.19 Characteristics of modifications per map text as a function of edition.

Modifications per edition for each map text, scholarly version only											
	Afr.	Scotl.	Low C.	Como.	Hung	Nordic R.	Russia	Indies	Anc. Sicily	Anc. Greece	All
1571L	1	-	1	7	0	1	0	0	-	-	10
1573L	2	0	0	2	2	3	0	1	-	-	10
1574L	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	-	-	8
1575L	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	-	-	3
1579L	2	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	-	-	9
1580G	2	10	21	5	5	2	1	1	-	1	48
1581F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
1584G3Add	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	12
1584L	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	6
1587F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	2	15
1588S	0	3	20	3	1	2	4	1	-	-	34
1592L	4	1	3	3	1	0	2	3	5	4	26
1595L	0	2	4	2	1	3	1	3	8	11	35
1598F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	12
1601L	1	2	4	1	0	1	1	0	0	5	15
1602G	5	11	26	6	7	3	2	7	19	13	99
1602S	1	4	23	5	1	2	4	2	0	0	42
1603L	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	8
1606 E	8	20	8	7	22	7	9	11	25	21	138
1608I	4	6	-	5	4	5	5	8	11	5	53
1609L	0	1	-	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	5
1609S	1	3	-	4	1	1	2	2	0	0	14
1624LParerg.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	1

However, a more spectacular difference can be found in the texts of the Northern Regions map. The second half of this map text in the vernacular version contains an exciting, if not fully trustworthy account of an exploration of the North Pole with dangers, werewolves, treasures, murder and finally a safe return home. 'Let him believe it who likes to' is Ortelius' terse comment (e.g. in Ort217.18) on situations like this one. 'The responsibility for such stories resides with the author'. This indicates that Ortelius does not believe a word of it, but he does not want to spoil the reader's interest in these fantastic tales. In some other map texts with similar fantastic tales, Ortelius' comment is: 'if you believe one half of it, I will believe the other half' (e.g. Ort213.9).

As concerns the Hungary map, the scholarly text is straightforward, but the vernacular text first gives an eye witness account of the Hungarian shepherds who drive their cattle for slaughter all the way to Vienna. Then there is also an account of the Hungarian rivers, which are so full of fish that you can smell them when you read about them, and where fish given to a local does not even evoke a thank you. There is no need to update texts of this type. Their appeal is of all times.

These examples demonstrate that Ortelius as a scholar considered it his duty to explain academic prose to the non-academic as a fascinating source of knowledge. Popularisation of scholarly

phenomena by scholars has only received attention in the last half century or so, but this attitude is already clearly evident in Ortelius' writings of more than 400 years ago. As such, he is the first, or one of the first scholars promoting public understanding of humanities, science and technology as a populariser. Ortelius relied on the natural curiosity of his readers, for which an academic education was no prerequisite, but which needed a fitting and appropriate approach, avoiding jargon and incomprehensible references in the same way as popular magazines, journals and newspapers dealing with history, scholarship and science approach the general non-academic public today, arguing that science is fun.

The Scotland map text is the longest of all modern maps, right from the first edition in which it appears. It is unusual in the sense that it contains numerous miracles or rather miraculous properties of nature. This text shows very little development in both text versions, and the differences between the scholarly and vernacular text version are minimal. It might be argued that the reasons for this lack of development are the same as those which apply to all vernacular text versions, as we have just argued. In the same vein, the scholarly Como map text contains large quotes about Plinius Secundus or Maior which predictably have been omitted in the vernacular version of the text. The two *Parergon* maps of Ancient Sicily and Ancient Greece typically have the scholarly texts that might be expected, growing considerably over time

We can now return to a discussion of characteristics of the various editions with respect to one another. The vernacular texts show so little change over time that they will not be included in this discussion. To achieve a profile of each edition for the 10 maps of our choice, we will return to the modifications occurring in each map text, and present modifications per edition. Note that 1581F, 1587F & 1598F contain no full-fledged *Parergon* section, but unexpectedly have some *Parergon* maps including Ancient Greece, one of the oldest *Parergon* maps. The third, fourth and fifth German Additamentum do contain *Parergon* maps which first appear as a full-fledged *Parergon* in the 1602 German edition. We expect to see a regular increase in number of modifications, of which a considerable part consists of the addition of new authors. A dash in a cell of the table indicates that the map in question is not included in an edition. Our findings are presented in table 5.19.

5.5 Discussion of editions and their development

This table does not show the steady increase in text and new authors added over the various editions that we had expected. The pattern of modifications per edition instead looks rather chaotic. Let us try to see if there are any underlying patterns by discussing editions which seem to deviate from expected patterns.

5.5.1 The 1606 English edition

The first candidate is the 1606 English edition which shows by far the largest number of deviations in our ten maps compared to other editions: 138 modifications, an average of almost 14 changes per map. The reason for this exceptionally high number is that the translator, William Bedwell, used the 1595, 1601 and possibly the 1603 Latin edition of the *Theatrum* not so much to provide a faithful translation, but rather to give a sort of paraphrase teeming with insertions of

Table 5.20 Number of new carto-bibliographical sources per map text as a function of edition.

Introduction per edition for each map text of new carto-bibliographical sources, scholarly version only											
	Afr.	Scotl.	Low C.	Como.	Hungary.	Nordic R.	Russia	Indies	Anc. Sicily	Anc. Greece	All
1571L	0	-	0	2	0	1	0	0	-	-	3
1573L	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	-	-	5
1574L	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	-	-	5
1575L	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	-	-	1
1579L	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	-	-	7
1580G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0
1581F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
1584G3Add	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1584L	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1587F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0
1588S	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	-	-	2
1592L	3	0	2	2	0	0	2	1	5	5	20
1595L	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	2	8	8	24
1598F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
1601L	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	4
1602G	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
1602S	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
1603L	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
1606E	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	7
1608I	1	0	-	2	0	2	1	2	0	5	13
1609L	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1609S	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1624L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Parerg.											
All ed.	11	1	5	16	5	6	9	8	17	23	101

his own making, including lots of exonyms, and new quotes from new authors not occurring in other editions. Further, we find comparisons of situations described in map texts with the situation in England, the introduction of entirely new pieces of information in Greek and Hebrew, and even attempts (which failed) at introducing Arabic, with which Bedwell as an Orientalist was familiar. As it turns out, Bedwell even wrote entirely new texts for the Great Britain and England map. However, the English edition was the only one for which the maps were printed first in Antwerp, and later furnished by translator Bedwell and publisher Norton with English texts in England. Normally, *on verso* texts were typeset and printed first, and the plates were printed *on recto* afterwards.

Next to the modifications just mentioned, Bedwell is an early practitioner of the art of circumlocution, or to phrase it differently, many of his remarks do little more than just show his inveterate loquaciousness and verbosity. Typical examples: *as some people say, commonly called, which some consider to be, by way of saying, commonly known as* etc. We obtain a better view on the contributions of Bedwell to the English text as compared to their Latin examples by not

just mechanically counting any change, but by concentrating on significant modifications. These may consist of the introduction of new bibliographical and cartographic sources in the form of new authors and their works. We will accomplish this in our next survey of changes (5.6), which focuses on this type of changes only.

5.5.2 The 1608/1612 Italian edition

The 1608/1612 Italian edition, also based on the 1595, 1601 and/or 1603 Latin edition of the *Theatrum*, translated by Filippo Pigafetta, like the 1606 English edition shows a rather large number of modifications, viz. 53. Pigafetta in his translations keeps much closer to the original than Bedwell does, but often has a final remark of his own making, as is for instance the case in the Hungary and Russia map. This approach 'explains' the rather high number of modifications compared to the other scholarly editions.

5.5.3 The Spanish editions

The 1588, 1602 and 1609/1612/1641 Spanish texts also show a relatively high number of changes, viz. 46, 42 and 14 respectively. Inspection of the tables on which these figures are based show that the high number of modifications can mostly be attributed to the Low Countries map which, as we have seen before, contains a high number of Spanish exonyms for the Low Countries, first introduced in the 1574 Latin edition. How large this contribution is can be assessed by inspecting the Low Countries scholarly text version.

5.5.4 The German editions

The 1580/1589 German edition and the 1602 German edition are the only remaining ones which show a deviant and unexpected behaviour in terms of modifications, 49 and 99 respectively. We have observed before that the German texts of the 1572/1573 editions can be classified as vernacular, whereas the 1580/1589 edition, the 3rd, 4th and 5th German *Additamentum* and the 1602 German edition (which for the first time contains a full-fledged *Parergon*) belong to the scholarly texts. However, even though this observation is essentially correct, the German texts from 1580 onwards contain and continue to contain far fewer carto-bibliographical sources than do the other scholarly editions. In fact, they constitute an intermediate form between scholarly and vernacular which manifests itself most clearly in the 1602 edition. This can easily be seen by consulting the nature of a modification for the individual map texts. Notice that the removal of carto-bibliographical sources was counted as being of equal weight in our tables as the weight of an insertion. To obviate these factors, we present below a table, similar to the previous one, but now only concentrating on the introduction, rather than removal of new sources. Our concentration on this type of modification provides a prelude to the next chapter, which will deal with a further discussion on the most interesting type of modifications, namely the introduction of new authors and their works.

5.6 Development of carto-bibliographical sources in the map texts of successive editions

In contrast to table 5.19, the results presented in table 5.20 allow a fairly straightforward interpretation. From 1570 to 1579, there is a gradual increase in the number of new sources.

The 1575 Latin edition, which is mostly a reprint of the 1574 Latin edition shows the smallest increase, as might be expected. The 1580 German and 1588 Spanish edition have a low number of new sources. The most rapid expansion of new sources takes place in the 1592 and 1595 Latin editions. This was the most productive period in Ortelius' life with respect to the introduction of new sources. When Baptist Vrients after Ortelius' death bought the map plates and whatever editions and unbound printed piles of paper that were still extant and continued the publication of the *Theatrum*, its textual development came almost to a halt. We see that in the Latin editions published by Vrients, the 1601 Latin and to a smaller extent the 1603 Latin edition still show some expansion, presumably on the basis of notes which Ortelius left behind after his death. But Vrients lacked the drive and perhaps the expertise to update the map texts and he even continued old texts (such as the Low Countries map text, as noted before) when he introduced a new map for it. The large amount of new sources in the 1608/1612 Italian edition as compared with the 1606 English edition demonstrates that even if Pigafetta's additions to the Italian text were much less numerous than those of Bedwell, they had a greater information value. It may also be a reflection of the fact that Pigafetta was a cartographer whereas Bedwell was a linguist and historian specialising in the Middle East, but not a cartographer. Figure 5.2 provides a picture of carto-bibliographical developments in terms of new sources introduced into the *Theatrum* in those editions which have scholarly map texts presented over time per edition.

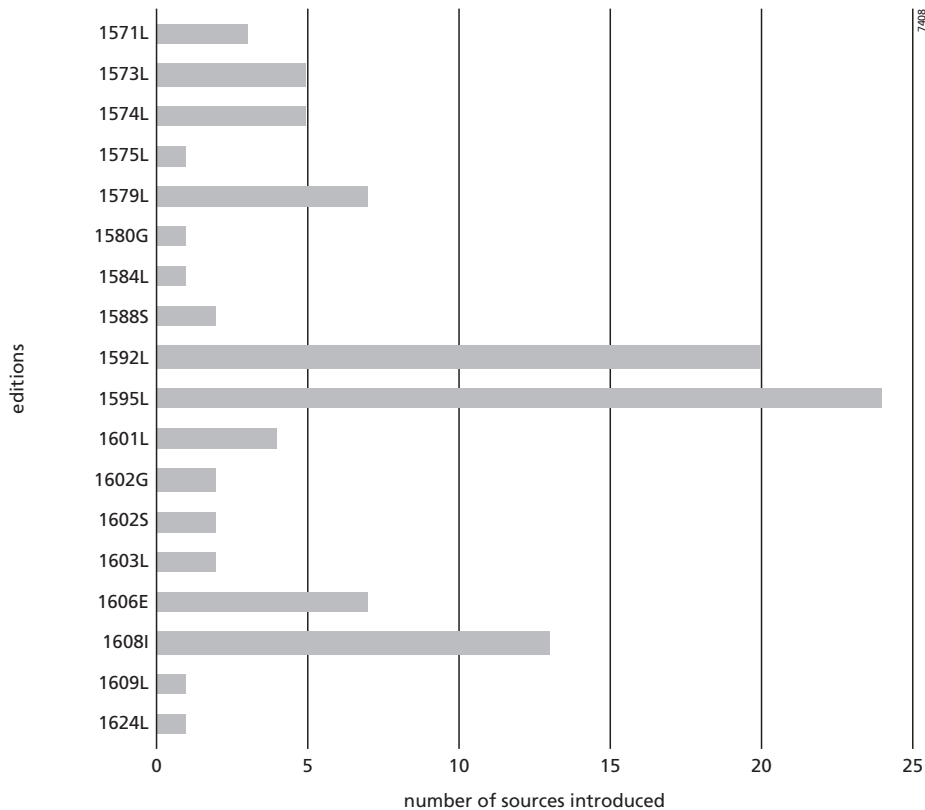


Figure 5.2 Number of new carto-bibliographic sources introduced in each edition.

In this analysis, we have restricted ourselves to the editions containing scholarly texts, since we have already established that the vernacular texts show little or no development as regards new carto-bibliographic sources. What can be concluded on the basis of figure 5.2? A steady but modest introduction of new sources in the period 1570-1575, when a new Latin edition was published (almost) each year. Within this series, the 1575 Latin edition was not much more than a reprint of the 1574 Latin edition. Then follows a period of 4 years without a new Latin edition. During this period, which includes the first Spanish Fury in Antwerp (1576) Ortelius left Antwerp for his own safety and went to England and Ireland for a considerable period of time. Yet he continued to collect new sources, as we can see in the 1579 Latin edition, which contains the highest number of new sources so far. The next outburst of activity in this respect is not the 1584 Latin edition, which is hardly different from the 1579 Latin edition in terms of sources. It took 8 years before a new Latin edition was produced in 1592, the longest interval between any two Latin editions. During this time, Ortelius apparently consulted many new sources which he considered relevant for inclusion in the next scholarly edition. Unexpectedly, the highest number of new sources appears in the 1595 Latin edition, this time the result of only 3 years of further collecting of new sources by Ortelius. Apparently, this was Ortelius' period of greatest activity as regards the collection of new sources. The appearance of by far the largest edition of his *Thesaurus* in 1596 confirms that Ortelius, now in his late sixties, was at the most productive stage in his life indeed.

Next to the 1592L and 1595L editions just mentioned, the fairly prominent position of the 1606 English edition reflects the (not so large) amount of new sources introduced by Bedwell. Most of his modifications did not involve new sources, as we have seen. For the 1608/1612 Italian edition, the number of modifications in the map texts is much smaller than in the Bedwell texts, but they more often involve Pigafetta's introduction of new sources. We will return to this theme in Chapter 6, when we discuss Ortelius' carto-bibliographic sources in some detail.

We would like to turn away now from the approach used so far, which concentrated on modifications, including the introduction of new carto-bibliographic sources and have a look at the cumulative use of these sources. The introduction of a new source so far counted as one change, but the fact that this source was mostly repeated in successive editions after its introduction has no visibility in this approach, and is not further accounted for. If we present our data in a cumulative manner, this will lead to a more realistic presentation as to how many sources were mentioned in each successive edition. Figure 5.3 tries to achieve this by presenting cumulative mentioning of sources per edition. To simplify our counting task, if an author is mentioned more than once per text paragraph, this is only counted once. With this presentation, we obtain a picture of the growth of carto-bibliographic sources over time.

Figure 5.3 shows a steady increase in the number of sources mentioned per edition over time. The prominence of the 1573 Latin edition is explained by the fact that the Scotland map was introduced in 1573, accounting for numerous new sources. For reasons of comparability, it would have been preferable to use maps, which all start (and end) with the same edition. The relative prominence of the 1579 and of the 1584 edition are caused by the introduction of respectively the Ancient Greece and the Ancient Sicily map, both containing numerous sources. Figure 5.3 also shows that Bedwell introduced not only more changes in general, but also more new sources in the 1606 English edition than Pigafetta did in the 1608/1612 Italian edition.

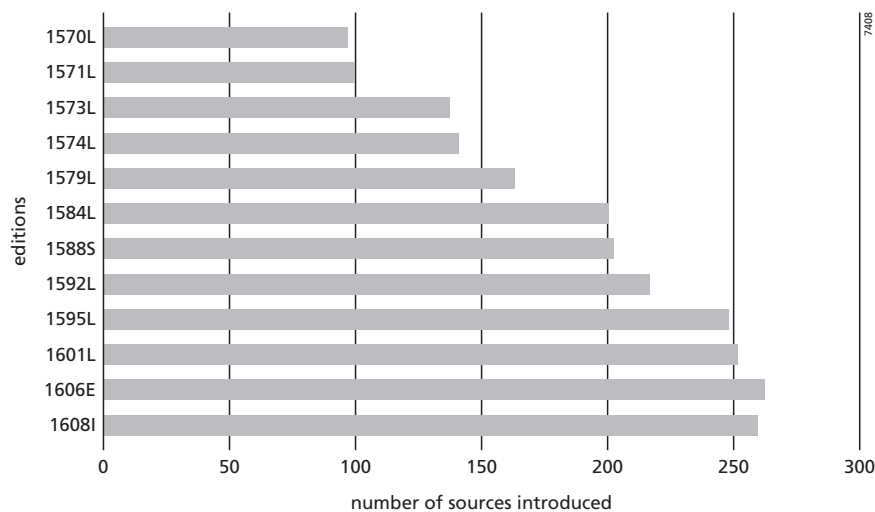


Figure 5.3 Cumulative number of carto-bibliographic sources over successive editions.

This figure confirms that the greatest increases in sources, considering the above remarks, are found in the 1592 and especially in the 1595 Latin edition.

Now, we turn to the question of transparence between the different language versions of the *Theatrum*.

5.7 Orthography, nomenclature and transparence of semantic fields in translated map texts

5.7.1 About translation

Translations from one language into another are always a compromise because of the nature of the translation process. Even when assuming perfect command of both languages on the part of the translator, which is not often the case, a compromise must be found concerning differences in syntax and semantics, and for written translations decisions have to be made concerning the orthography of place names and proper names, next to cultural aspects of the two languages involved. If a text shows any kind of complexity, a perfect translation is impossible. Yet, translation is as old as any two communities with different languages attempting to communicate.

Ortelius' texts *on verso* of his atlas maps were originally written in Latin for the 1570 edition and in Dutch for the 1571 edition. The Latin texts, which we called scholarly, were continually expanded until Ortelius' death in 1598. This is demonstrated in our translation of the Latin texts and their derivatives in other languages by numerous curly brackets indicating what was added, changed or deleted in each subsequent edition.

The Dutch texts and their derivatives, which we called vernacular, were not expanded at all, and therefore contain few if any curly brackets in our translation. The Latin texts formed the starting

point for subsequent translations into (post 1573) German, Spanish, English and Italian. The Dutch texts were translated into (1572/1573) German, and (1572/1574) French. Most translations of what can roughly be characterised as informative prose are straightforward and literal, with fairly equal attention to meaning as compared to form. In our analysis below, we will devote most of our attention to correspondences and differences in morphology, phonology and semantics, and not to syntax.

It was only in the middle of the 20th century that a formal theory of translation was formulated by Eugene Nida³. This was prompted by his attempts to translate the bible into numerous North American Indian languages. These attempts faced not only formal but also semantic and cultural difficulties in trying to formulate translated equivalents for concepts as expressed in the bible. Nida calls his translation an attempt aiming at equivalence in meaning rather than in form, also called Dynamic or Functional Equivalence.

If any translation from one language into another is a compromise between being true in form or being true in meaning, a translation of seven languages as spoken and written in the late 16th century into one of those languages as presently written, i.e. 400 years later, is a near-impossibility. Yet, it will now be attempted to make a comparison between the seven languages in which Ortelius' atlases and their map texts have been produced in order to assess the transparency or conversely opacity between these editions in different languages. Given the fact that the texts primarily deal with geographical concepts, with carto-bibliographical sources in the form of personal names and with content words, these will be characteristics of the texts analysed to assess this transparency. The aim of this exercise is to give the reader an idea to what extent content words and word groups as well as topographical and personal names present transparency in the form of discrepancies or uniformities between these categories as presented in seven languages in the map texts. Topographical names chosen for comparison which do not only occur in the map texts but which can be found on the maps themselves as well, will also be included in our analysis. Each word or word group examined and presented in one of the tables below is followed by the map number and paragraph number or paragraph numbers if it also occurs in the vernacular Dutch, French and early German editions. This approach will be further operationalised below.

5.8 The transparency of the on verso map text translations

We should be aware that the seven languages found *on verso* of Ortelius' atlas maps all derive from a common Indo-European source⁴. The derivatives of Latin, viz. Italian, Spanish and French belong to the Romance language branch into which Indo-European split, whereas German and Dutch belong to the Germanic branch. Anglo-Saxon English also belongs to the Germanic branch: the invasions of the Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Frisians during the fourth and fifth century largely ousted the native Gaelic or Celtic language spoken on the British Isles before that time. However, the arrival of William the Conqueror from Normandy in 1066 resulted among other things in a large influx of French words, particularly in prestigious circles. This influx of French words in the English language yielded numerous word pairs as for instance freedom-liberty, cow-beef, undress-disrobe etc., which acquired differentiation in meaning over time.

Thus, when comparing concepts between the seven languages occurring in the map texts, differences and correspondences between words and expressions in these languages in terms of their etymologies clearly manifest themselves in two groups. These can easily be distinguished: the Romance languages Italian, Spanish and French and their ancestor Latin clearly constitute one cluster, and the Germanic languages Dutch and German another. The position of English lexical items with respect to these two clusters is variable, depending on their Germanic or alternatively their Romance etymology. Both clusters of languages (together with Slavonic) of course ultimately go back to their common Indo-European ancestor or root.

It may be argued that true synonyms within a language, defined as two different words referring to exactly the same concept or object, do not exist, presupposing a perfect command of that language. Such a perfect command may exist for the native language of the native speaker, but hardly ever extends over as many as seven different languages.

As far as possible, we will examine the different translations of texts from each edition in which these texts occur, comparing similar words and expressions to make an attempt at assessing the amount of transparency found between the various languages. Since the scholarly and vernacular versions differ, and since within each category not all words or word groups need to be present, it will not always be possible to make a comparison per word or expression between all languages. This analysis intends to uncover differences which have usually been collapsed into one word in our text, a translation into modern English, and have only been mentioned between curly brackets if an edition in one language is radically different from editions in other languages. Such a procedure which collapses the amount of map texts by (almost) a factor seven comes at a price: reduction of diversity of concepts between the different languages involved.

There is no standard procedure available to measure transparency of multiple texts which are translations from one source text (in our case called the scholarly one) or two source texts (where in our case the second text is called the vernacular one). Therefore, a so-called Difference Measure (DM) between the translations is proposed now to assess the amount of transparency found between all words and expressions supposedly intending to mean the same thing, as found in the seven languages at issue. To achieve this, a procedure will be presented expressing the amount of difference (DM) between words and expressions in the seven languages. These are to be calculated as a quotient which can range between 0% and 100% of difference found between the seven languages. DM values are rounded off to the nearest integer. If a word is translated into another language as that word plus something, it is counted as showing a difference. There is a certain amount of subjectivity involved here.

Capitals vs. non-capitals and digraphs (such as æ œ) vs. the sequence of two letters it is composed of (ae and oe) are not counted as differences. Neither are pairs differing in u vs. v or in i vs. j counted as being different.

It is useful to keep in mind that spelling conventions had not yet been established in the late 16th century, except to some extent for Latin, which shows great spelling consistency. Yet, since map texts of early editions were invariably used as an example for later editions in the same language, there are few spelling variations between different editions in the same language. In contrast to this, there are usually considerable spelling variations between for instance topographical and

personal names across languages in the form of exonyms and translated first names. Numerous examples illustrating these claims are contained in the tables below.

The analysis assesses the amount of difference of one lexical item chosen at random from each of our ten map texts (which themselves have been chosen from the 226 *on verso* map texts available). These items are drawn from the seven languages our translation is based on. We have limited ourselves in this process to only three categories of words or word groups, two of which are related to the predominantly geographical nature of the map texts.

The three groups to be analysed are the following:

1. Names of carto-bibliographical sources as mentioned in the *on verso* map texts, and very occasionally mentioned on the maps themselves as well. Correspondence of meaning is not at issue here. Therefore, identical spelling of the same name in different languages is strictly required for not being counted as different, resulting in a very objective scoring method.
2. Geographical concepts and expressions, as well as place names, as mentioned in the *on verso* map texts and sometimes on the maps themselves. Derivation and meaning are the decisive factors here for establishing whether two words meaning approximately the same thing are counted as being different or not. Spelling may vary widely between languages. Scoring differences between words in different languages obviously referring to the same geographical content is somewhat subjective.
3. Content words denoting objects and concepts. Similarity in meaning and derivation is required here for words and expressions in different languages for not being counted as different. This is a rather subjective criterion, based on semantics and etymology. Spelling is not an issue here.

Some words of category 1 also apply to category 3. Each category is discussed in more detail below. For each of the three categories of words selected, examples of the Difference Measures used will be presented:

5.9 Differences in the text material

5.9.1 First word category: Names of carto-bibliographical sources

Names of carto-bibliographical sources may be identical across languages (resulting in a DM=0), but more often they show differences in spelling, particularly as regards the first name, sometimes approaching a translation, e.g. (1. English): John, (2. Latin): Ioannes, (3. German): Johannes, (4. Italian): Giovanni. When a group consisting of four names which all differ in spelling are compared, as is the case in the group of 4 related names just mentioned, they have a DM of $4/4 = 100\%$. When a group of three names all show differences in spelling with respect to one another, they have a DM of $3/3$, also 100% . But when 3 names out of a group of 4 have identical spelling, the DM is $1/4$ or 25% . For a name to be identical with another, both the first and the last name have to be present and to be identical in their orthography. This is a very strict and reproducible approach, devoid of subjectivity.

5.9.2 Second word category: Geographical concepts and expressions

Let us start with a simple example:

When we are dealing with a geographical concept which is familiar and similar in all seven languages, e.g. the continent of Africa (map text title §8.1) as in (1. Latin): 'Africa', (2. German): 'Affrica', (3. Spanish): 'Africa', (4. Italian): 'l'Africa', (5. English): 'Africa', (6. Dutch): 'Africa', (7. French): 'Afrique', this series is considered to be extremely similar and has a Difference Measure of 0 (differences) divided by 7 (total number of words over all languages) or $0/7 = 0\%$.

Another example (also from map text §8.2): (1. Latin): 'Septentrio', (2. German): 'Norden, Septentrional, Boreus', (3. Spanish): 'Septentrion', (4. Italian): 'Settentrion', (5. English): 'North', (6. Dutch): 'Noord' and (7. French): 'Nord' all refer to a single geographical concept. Latin, Spanish and Italian have one common root viz. 'Septentrio' whereas English, Dutch and French have a different common root when compared to the previous series, viz. 'Nord'. German has both terms and on top of that 'Boreus' which therefore differs from all the others. Since three out of seven terms are related, we may either nominate 'Septentrio' with three members as the norm and the remaining four as different, resulting in a DM of $4/7 = 56\%$ or we may nominate 'North' with three members as the norm and the remaining four as different, which also leads to the DM of $4/7 = 56\%$.

Another example: In category 1 we find (e.g. in map text §8.2) the following series of seven related words for our translation 'East' namely (1. Latin): 'Oriens', (2. German): 'Aufgang der Sonnen, Orient', (3. Spanish): 'Leuante', (4. Italian): 'Levante', (5. English): 'East', (6. Dutch): 'Oost' and (7. French): 'Orient'. These are all words referring to a single geographical concept. However, they derive from two different roots resulting in two different clusters: 'Oriens, East, Oost' and 'Oriens' form one cluster deriving from root 'Oriens'. On the other hand, 'Leuante' and 'Levante' form a second cluster deriving from the root 'Levant'. 'Aufgang der Sonnen, Orient' is a singleton partly clustering but also partly differing from the first cluster, and fully differing from the second cluster. Since the cluster 'Oriens, East, Oost' and 'Oriens' is the largest cluster with four of a total of seven terms, this is considered the norm. The cluster with the two related terms 'Leuante' and 'Levante' together with the singleton 'Aufgang der Sonnen' form the deviation from the norm which we call Difference Measure. The fact that German has two concepts for 'East', of which one viz. Orient clusters with 'Oriens' is disregarded here, because the number of words for this concept differs from that of the other languages. Thus we have seven words for the same concept, four of which are similar, whereas three are different from those similar words. For this series of seven words, the Difference Measure amounts to three (different) words divided by 7 (total number of words) or $3/7 = 43\%$. We need not pursue the exact etymologies and determine the common Indo-European roots of these words precisely to establish these patterns and derive a Difference Measure from it.

Another example: The geographical concept translated as 'miles' (map text §8.2) is based on (1. on map): 'milliari', (2. Latin): 'mil.', (3. German): 'Meill', (4. Spanish): 'leguas', (5. Italian): 'miglia', (6. English): 'miles', (7. Dutch): 'mylen', and (8. French): 'Lieues'. Clearly, 'miles' is the norm and 'leagues' the deviation from it with a difference measure of 2 (deviants) divided by 8 (total number of terms) is 25%.

Another example: we find for the translation of (map text §8.2) 'the river Nile' (1. on map): 'Nilus fl.', (2. Latin): 'Nilus fl.', (3. German): 'der Fluss Nilus', (4. Spanish): 'el Nilo', (5. Italian): 'Nilo', (6. English): 'the river Nile or Nilus', (7. Dutch): 'riviere Nilus', (8. French) 'la Riuieres du Nil'. Although all expressions are clearly pointing to the same river Nile, we find Latin 'flumen'

and German 'Fluss' as common denominator among the first three names, but English 'river', Dutch 'rivier' and French 'rivière' as common denominator among the last 3 names. Spanish and Italian lack the addition 'river'. Thus, although all eight expressions refer to the same object, three use the common root 'flumen', three use the common root 'river' and two omit the concept river which is counted as different. Therefore we have two groups each having a different root in common and one group of two where the concept of river is lacking. In other words, we have 3 out of 8 regarded as the same, and 5 out of 8 regarded as different, resulting in a Difference Measure for the river Nile of $5/8$ or 63%.

Sometimes, a word does not occur in a certain language edition and therefore has not been translated into that language. Then, in the comparison across languages, the number of contributors determining the Difference Measure for that word is lowered to the number of words that do contribute to the difference.

If a place name is unfamiliar across languages, e.g. (my translation of this name, §8.2:) Eloacat, and we find (1. on map): Eleocat, (2. Latin): Eloacat, (3. German): Eloacat, (4. Spanish): Eloacat, (5. Italian): Eloacat, (6. English): Eloacat we have 6 occurrences of which one (viz. the name on the map) differs from the other 5. Therefore, the Difference Measure here is $1/6 = 17\%$.

The words that contribute to the calculation of the Difference Measure are underlined in the tables presented below, so that the reader can see how the DM for each series of words in different languages has been calculated.

Familiar place names occurring in the map texts mostly appear as exonyms (e.g. in a Dutch map text using Dutch Parijs rather than French Paris). In sharp contrast to this, the maps themselves mostly show toponyms (place names as they are called in the region where they are located) rather than exonyms. For numerous examples of this contrast, see in particular the end of the map text of Ort58, Germania Inferior. As can be seen there, Ortelius was very concerned that exonyms in map texts would result in geographical errors and confusions. This explains the lengthy discussion, not only in the map text of the Low Countries map, but also elsewhere. We find similar lists for Wales (Ort21), Moravia (Ort104), Guipuscoa (Ort31), Hungary (Ort50) and Transsylvania (Ort52, 153), all of them harbouring different linguistic communities within their borders.

It must be conceded that some decisions on similarity or difference in this category are difficult and of a subjective nature. When we examine (§58.37) the place name series (1. on map): 'Cortrÿck', (2. Latin): 'Cortracum', (3. German): 'Kortrich', (4. Spanish): 'Courtray', (5. Dutch): 'Kortrijk' and (6. French): 'Courtray' it may be argued that all these names all derive from Latin 'Cortracum' leading to a DM of $0/6 = 0\%$, but it may also be argued that the map version, German and Dutch form one cluster and the Latin, Spanish and French version another cluster, leading to a DM of $3/6 = 50\%$. In the approach chosen here (see below in §58.37) the stricter approach, in this case leading to a DM of 50%, has been chosen. A certain amount of subjectivity is unavoidable in this category.

5.9.3 Third word category: Content words

Names of concepts or objects may or may not be adequate translations of each other. My translation 'woods and swamps' (from the Scotland text §18.4 & §18.19) aims at representing (1.

Latin, nominativised:) 'silvæ et paludes', (2. German:) 'vvælden und seen', (3. Spanish:) 'bosques y lagunas', (4. Italian:) 'foreste & paludi', (5. English:) 'woods and bogges', (6. Dutch:) 'bosschen ende broecken' and (7. French:) 'bois et marez'. It may be argued that German 'seen' represents lakes, rather than swamps, as does Spanish 'lagunas'. Therefore, out of 7 word groups in different languages, 2 have stretched the meaning of swamps to include lakes, leading to a difference measure of 2/7 or 28%.

Note that the criteria for deciding whether two words are the same or different differs for each of the three word categories that have been examined, going from purely objective for the category of proper names to rather subjective for the category of content words.

5.9.4 Variations within a language

Since editions in the same language hardly show any differences in spelling over time, we will always use the earliest edition possible in the collection of material for analysis. Obvious spelling mistakes will be checked by examining the same word in another edition with the same language. If it is found spelled correctly in another edition, it will be presented in its corrected form, but if the spelling mistake persists in other editions (which is not rare), it will be presented as it occurs. Inflected forms will be presented in the nominative. Further, we should be aware that Ortelius only wrote the Latin, Dutch and French texts. The Spanish texts were translated from Latin by the Franciscan monk Balthasar Vincentius, the Italian texts by the geographer Filippo Pigafetta, the English by the orientalist William Bedwell (the last two after Ortelius' death) and the German by an unknown translator. Therefore, across all languages no fewer than five different translators were involved, reducing the probability of finding transparency and uniformity of the resulting map texts.

Note also that the content of the texts in the vernacular languages Dutch, early German and French are decidedly different for all texts except Scotland (Ort18). This means that some words occur in the tables below in the scholarly texts only and not in the vernacular texts, and vice versa, leading to empty slots in the tables.

5.10 Analysis of data

Since no standard procedures or examples of similar work are available for the present purpose, the method described above and the analysis presented below intends to explore to what extent transparency can be established, rather than to confirm or reject hypotheses in the comparison of the map texts in seven languages. The only plausible but not very revealing prediction that can be made here is that when establishing DM's for groups of words in different languages, these words will cluster in languages that have a common ancestor.

To allow the reader to understand how difference measures between series of words in different language editions given below have been established, words considered to be different have been underlined, whereas words that are considered as similar have not been underlined. The difference measure is calculated by dividing the number of words scored as different by the total number of words. If we have 8 words which are all similar, our Difference Measure score is $0/8=0\%$.

If all words are considered as being different, we obtain a DM of $8/8=100\%$. In most cases the DM will have a value in between these two extremes, e.g. if 5 out of 8 words are different, the DM will be $5/8 = 62.5\%$, rounded off to 63%.

Now, our analysis of text words will be presented in tables for each map text and word category. Any comments on these tables are given afterwards.

5.10.1 Africa Ort8

Table 5.21 Carto-bibliographic sources listed as they appear in translation and in editions in seven languages of Ort8, Africa.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Herodotus 8.14		Herodotus		<u>Herodoto</u>	<u>Herodoto</u>	Herodotus			50%
Pindarus 8.8		Pindarus		<u>Pindaro</u>	<u>Pindaro</u>	Pindarus			50%
Postellus 8.8		Postellus		<u>Postello</u>	<u>Postello</u>	Postellus			50%
Cham's curse 8.8		maledictio Chami		Maldicion a Chaim	Maleditione di Chaim	<u>Chams curse</u>			25%
Iosephus 8.11		Iosephus	<u>Josepho</u>	<u>Iosepho</u>	<u>Gioseffo</u>	Iosephus			60%
Afer 8.11		<u>Afer</u>	Afro	Afro	Afro	Afer			40%
Abrahams descendants 8.11		posteri Abrahae	<u>Nachkömlingen</u>	<u>Descendientes de Abraham</u>	<u>discendenti da Abraamo</u>	Abrahams posteritie			60%
Arrianus 8.14		<u>Arrianus</u>	<u>Arriam</u>		Arriano	<u>Arrianus</u>			60%
lambolus 8.14		<u>lambolus</u>	lamboli	lamboli	lamboli	<u>lambolus</u>			40%
Diodorus Siculus 8.14		Diodorus Siculus	Diodorus Siculus	<u>Diodoro Siculo</u>	<u>Diodoro Sicilian</u>	Diodorus Siculus			40%
Barlaams narration 8.14		Barlaami narration		Narra Barlaamo	<u>Scritta di Barlaamo</u>	Barlaams narration			25%
Aloysius Cadamostus 8.15		Aloysius Cadamostus	Aloysius Cadamostus	<u>Aloysio</u>	<u>Luigi da Cadamosto</u>	Aloysius Cadamostus			40%
Vasco da Gama 8.15		Vascus de Gama	Vascus de Gama	<u>Vasco de Gama</u>	<u>Vasco di Gama</u>	<u>Vasco de Gama</u>			60%
Franciscus Alvarez 8.15		Franciscus Aluares	Franciscus Alvares	<u>Francisco Aluares</u>	<u>Francesco Aluares</u>	Francis de Aluares			60%
Ioannes Leo 8.15		Ioannes Leo	Johan Leo	<u>Ioan Leon</u>	<u>Gio. Leone</u>	Ioan Leo			100%
Ludovicus Marmolius 8.15		Ludovicus Marmolius	<u>Ludwig. Marmolius</u>	<u>Luys Marmolio</u>	<u>Lodovico Marmolio</u>	Ludouicus Marmolius			60%
Livio Sanutus 8.15		Livius Sanutus		<u>Livio Sanuto</u>	<u>Livio Sanuto</u>	Livius Sanutus			50%
Ioannes Barrius 8.15		Ioannes Barrius	Johannes Barrius	<u>Ioan Barrio</u>	<u>Gioanni Barro</u>	Barros			100%
De Giraua 8.23		de Giraua	de Giraua				de Giraua	de Giraua	0%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Ioannes Baptista Ramusius 8.15		Ioannes Baptista Ramusius	Ioannes Baptista Ramusius	Ioan Baptista Rhamusi	Gio. Battista Ramusio	John Baptista Ramusius			60%
Hieronymus Fracastorius 8.15		Hieronymus Fracastorius	Hieronymus Fracastorius	Hieronymo Fracastorio	Hieronimo Fracastorio	Ierom Fracastorius			60%
Bellum lugurthinum by Sallustius 8.14		lugurthinum bellum Sallustij		la guerra lugurtina	la guerra di Giugurta, compilata da Sallustio	Salust his Bellum lugurthinum			100%
									aver. 54.1%

Table 5.22 Placenames and geographical concepts of the map texts of Africa (Ort8).

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Africa 8.1	Africa	Africa	Africa	Africa	I'Africa	Africa	Africa	Afrique	0%
Barbaria 8.2	Barbaria	Barbaria	Barbarien	Berberia	Barbaria	Barbarie	Barbarien	Barbarie	12%
Numidia 8.2	Nubia	Numidia	Numidia	Numidia	Numidia	Numidia	Numidia	Numidie	12%
Libya 8.2	Lybia	Libya	Libya	Libya	Libia	Libya	Libya	Libya	0%
land of the negroes 8.2	Nigritarum regio	Nigritarum regio	Morenlandt, das Land der Schwarzen	tierra de Negretes	terra de' Negri	land of negroes	d'Landt van de swarten	le Pays des Noirs	63%
Atlantic sea 8.2	Oceanus Atlanticus	Mare Atlanticum	das Atlantisch Meer	Mar Atlantico	Mare Atlantico	The Atlantick sea	de groote zee	Mer Atlantique	38%
Mediterranean sea 8.2	Mare Mediterraneum	Mare Mediterraneum	Mitteländisches Meer	Mar Mediterraneo	Mare Mediterraneo	Mediterranean sea	Middel-landsche Zee	Mer Méditerranée	3/8= 38%
mountain range Atlas 8.2		Mons Atlantis	der Berg Atlas	Monte Atlante	Monte Atlante	Mount Atlas	de Berch Atlas	Mont Atlas	29%
The region of Barcha 8.2	Barcha	Barcha region	das Land Barcha	Region Barcha	Regione de Barca	Region of Barcha			33%
Egypt 8.2	Aegyptus	AEgyptus	Egipten	Aegyptio	L'Égitto	Aegypt	Egypten	Egypte	0%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Numidia or Bilgerid 8.2	Biledulgerid	Nvmdia. <u>Biledulgerid</u>	Biledulgerid	Numidia. <u>Biledulgerid</u>	NumidiaBiledulgerid	Numidia, <u>Biledulgerid</u>	Biledulgerid	Biledulgerid	50%
West 8.2		<u>Occidens</u>	<u>Nidergang der Sonnen</u> <u>oderOccident</u>	Poniente	Ponente	<u>West</u>	<u>Westen</u>	<u>l'Occident</u>	71%
North 8.2		Septentrio	<u>Norden.</u> <u>Septentrional.</u> <u>Boreus</u>	Septentrio	Settentrio	<u>North</u>	<u>Noord</u>	<u>Nord</u>	57%
East 8.2		Oriens	<u>Aufgang der Sonnen.</u> <u>Orient</u>	<u>Leuante</u>	<u>Levante</u>	East	Oost	<u>l'Orient</u>	43%
South 8.2		<u>Meridies.</u> <u>Auster</u>	<u>Meridiem.</u> <u>Suden</u>	Mediodia	<u>Mezo giorno.</u> <u>Australe</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Zuijd.</u> <u>Zuyden</u>	<u>Le Midi</u>	71%
Eloacat 8.2 miles 8.2	<u>Eleocat</u> milliari	Eloacat Mill.	Eloacat Meill, Meilen	Eloacat <u>Leguas</u>	Eloacat miglia	Eloacat Miles	mylen	<u>Lieuës</u>	17% 25%
Sarra desert 8.2	<u>Deserta</u>		<u>Sarra wultnuss.</u> <u>Wüsten</u>	Sarra <u>deserta</u>	Sarra deserto	Sarra desert	<u>Sarra</u> <u>wildernisse</u>	<u>Sarra</u> <u>desert</u>	43%
The river Nile 8.2	Nilus fl.	Nilus fl.	Der Fluss Nilus	El Nil	Nil	the river Nile, <u>Nilus</u>	<u>riviere Nilus</u>	<u>la Riviere du Nil</u>	63%
inhabitants 8.2		<u>incolae</u>	<u>Inwohner</u>	<u>Moradores</u>	habitanti	Inhabitants			60%
The river Niger 8.2	Niger flu.	<u>flumen Niger</u>	der Fluss Niger	<u>Rio Negro</u>	Fiume Negro	the river Niger	<u>de Reuiere Niger</u>	<u>la riviere Niger</u>	50%
Aethiopian ocean 8.2	Oceanus Aethiopicus	<u>Atlanticus</u> <u>Aethiopicus</u>	<u>Atlantische Meer</u>	<u>Mar Etioptico</u>	L'Oceano d'Etioopia	Aethiopic Ocean			50%
Gualata 8.2	Gualata	Gualata	Gualate	Gualata	Gualata	Gualata			0%
Aethiopia 8.3		AETHIOPIA	<u>Mohrenlandt</u>	AETHIOPIA	L'Etioopia	Aethiopia			20%
bound by 8.3		<u>constringunt</u>	<u>als seine Grenzen</u> <u>verfassen</u>	<u>Encierran</u>	<u>ristretta</u>	<u>Confined by</u>			100%
Presbyter Ioannis Empire 8.3		Imperium Presbyteri Ioannis	<u>Priester</u> <u>Johannis Landt</u> <u>Herrschaft</u>	Imperio d'El Preste Ioan	l'Imperio del Prete Gianni	Presbyter Iohns Empire	<u>Paep Jans Landt</u>	<u>Pays de Prestre</u> <u>Jean</u>	42%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
isthmus 8.3		isthmus	das kleine land zwischen., Rott Meer, Arabische Gestude oder Krümme	Isthmo	isthmo	isthmus, small neckland	smal eynde	petit destroit	57%
Gulf of Arabia 8.3	Mar Rosso ol[im] Sinus Arabicus	Sinus Arabicus		Golfo Arabico	Golfo Arabico, Rosso mare	gulf of Arabia	de Roode zee	la Mer Rouge	75%
Cape of Good Hope 8.4	C. de buona speranza	Promontorium Bonae spei	Cabo de bona sperancha, das Vorgebirg. der tröstlichen Hoffnung	Promon- torio de buena Esperança	capo di Bona speranza	Cape de buona speranza or of good hope.	Cabo de bona sperança	Cabo de buone sperança	50%
Calicut 8.4		Calecutius	Calicut, Calecuten	Calicu	Calecut	Calicut	Calcoeten	Calcute	0%
Zanzibar 8.4	Zanzibar	Sanzibar	Zanzibar	Zanzibar	Sanzibar	Zanzibar	Zanzibar	Zanzibar	0%
Persians 8.4		Perses	Persier, Persen	Persas	Persiani	Persians	Persianen	Persiens	0%
Straight of Magellan 8.5		Fretum Magellanicum	Strecho Magellano, das enge Meer Magelnaniae	Mar Magella- nico	Magaglianes	Streight of Magellan	Strecho de Magellano	Strecho de Megellano	57%
Equator, Equinoctial line 8.6	Aequinoctialis Circulus	Aequinoctialis	Equinoctial Cirkel oder Mittel Linie	Circulo AEqui- noccial	l'Equinottale	Equinoctial line, equator	AEquinoctiael oft Middellinie	l'Esqui- noctial	63%
Zeilan 8.7		Zeilan	Zeilan	Zeilan	Zeilan	Zeilan	Zeilan		0%
Malabar 8.7		Malabar	Malabar	Malabar	Malabar	Malabar	Malabar		0%
parallel of heaven 8.7		parallelus coeli	parallel linie	Parallelo	parallelo	parallele			40%
Indians 8.8		Indi		Indianos	Indiani	Indians			0%
America 8.9		America	America		America	America			0%
Quareca 8.9		Quareca	Quareca	Quareca	Quareca	Quareca			0%
Hidden property of the soil 8.9		soliquaedam incognita proprietas	ainige vnbekannte aygenthumb/ eygenschaft	Alguna propriedad del suelo no conoscídao	certa propieta occulta del terreno	hidden property of the soil	Eenige onbekende eygenheyt des landts	propriété incognue	14%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
inherent and innate property 8.9		naturae innata ratio	angeborne genegentheyt der Natur	su razon secretaen el mismo natural	<u>intrinseca et innata</u>	inherent to the nature of man	aengheboeren ghe-nenthyt der Naturen	Inclination naturelle de la complex-ion des homes	14%
Madagascar 8.13	<u>Madagascar</u> , <u>S. Laurentii</u> , <u>Menuthias</u>	Madagascar	die Inseln von <u>Sant Laurentz</u> , <u>Madagascar</u>	Mada-Gascar	Madaguascar	Madagascar	het Eylandt <u>van S. Laurens vanden inwoonderen Mada gascar</u> ghenoemt	<u>l'Isle de Saint Laurens</u> , <u>Mada-gascar</u>	50%
The Canary islands 8.13	<u>Canariae insulae</u> <u>ol: Fortunatae</u>	Canariae	Die Inseln von Canarien	Canarias	Canarie	the Canaries	de Eylanden van Canarien	les Isles de Canarie	13%
The Isles of Cap Verde 8.13	<u>insulae Cap</u> , <u>Viridis olim Gorgades</u>	Capitis viridis insulae	<u>die Insulen von Capo Verde</u> , <u>Capitis viridis</u>	Cabeça Verde	Capo Verde	the <u>Isles of Cape Verde</u>	Cabo Verde	Capo Verde	38%
São Tomé island 8.13	S. Thomae	S. Thoma insula	die Insel von S. Thomas	Santo Thomas	S. Thomaso	S. Thomas island	eylandt van S. Thomas	<u>l'Isle de Saint Thomas</u>	0%
Hanno's circumnavigation 8.14		circumnavigatio Hannonis	<u>Hannonis</u>	la naue-gacion que hizo por Africa Hannon	la nauigation d'intorno all' Africa de Hannone	Hanno his nauigation about Africa	<u>Hannonis</u>		33%
									aver. 35%.

Table 5.23 Content words for the Africa text, Ortt8.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Inhabitants		incolae	einwoner	moradores	abitanti	inhabitants	Inwoonderen	habitants	57%
miles 8.2	milliari	Mill.	Meill, Meilen	Leguas	miglia	miles	mylen	Lieuës	25%
sailors 8.17			Schiffer				Schippers	mariniers	33%
									aver.40.4%

5.10.2 Scotland, Ortt18

Table 5.24 Carto-bibliographic sources as they appear in translation and in editions in seven languages for Scotland, Ortt8.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Lhuyd 18.2		Lhuydos	Lhuydus	Lhuydo	Lhuido	Lhoyd	Lhuydus	Lhuydos	71%
Ioannes Maior 18.4		Ioannes Maior	Ioannes Maior	Ioan Mayor	Giouanni Maggiore	Iohn Maior	Jo. Maior	Ioannes Major	57%
Hector Boëthius 18.5, 18.20		Hector Boëthius	Hector Boëthius	Hector Boëtus	Hettore Boeto	Hector Boëthus	Hectore Boethio	Hector Boëthius	57%
Ioannes Leslaeum 18.15, 18.30		Ioannes Leslaeus		Ioan Leslaeo	Giouanni Lesleo	John Lisley			100%
									71.3%

Table 5.25 Geographical names and concepts for Scotland, Ortt8.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Scotland, 18.1, 18.16	Scotia	Scotia	Schotlandt	Scocia	Scotia	Scotland	Schotlandt	Escosse	50%
Britain, 18.2, 18.17	Britannia	Britannica	Britannien	Bretaña	Britanica	Brittaine	Britannia	Bretaigne	25%
Albania, 18.2, 18.17		Albania	Albania	Albania	Albania	Albanie	Albania	Albanie	0%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
inhabitants 18.2, 18.17 Albayn, 18.2, 18.17		<u>incolae</u> Albayn	<u>einwoener</u> Albayn	<u>moradores</u> Albayn	habitant Albayn	Inhabitants Albaine	<u>inwoonders</u> Albayn	habitants Albayn	57% 0%
Mount Grampius 18.2, 18.17	Grampius mons	Mons Grampius	Berg Grampius	Monte Grampio	Monte Grampio	Mount Grampius	De berch Grampius	la montaigne Grampius	25%
German ocean, 18.2, 18.17	Maris Germanici pars	Mare Germanicum	<u>Teutsche Meer</u>	<u>Mar de Alemania</u>	Mare Germanico	German Ocean	<u>Duijtsche zee</u>	la mer de <u>Alemaigne</u>	63%
Aberdeen 18.3 Irish sea, 18.3, 18.18	Aberdone	Aberdonia Hibernicum mare	Aberdonia Irlandische Meer	<u>Albardon</u> <u>Mar de Irlanda</u>	Aberdonia Mare Hibernico	Aberden The Irishsea	Aberdonia <u>Yrlanditsche zee</u>	Aberdonie la mer d'Irlande	13% 71%
lake Lomond 18.3, 18.18 boundary, 18.3, 18.18	Lacus Lomond	Lacus Lomundus	See Lomundum	Lago Lomund	Lomundo	Lake Lomond	meer Lomundus	lac Lomundus	25%
more mountainous 18.4, 18.19		<u>Limes</u>	<u>marckstein</u>	<u>raya</u>	confine	the bound	den pael	la frontiere	100 %
more barren 18.4		montiosior	<u>birgiger</u>	montañosa	alpestre	fuller of mountains	<u>bergachtiger</u>	plus montaig-neuse	57%
harbours 18.4		Sterilior	<u>vnfruchtbarer</u>	mas esteril	piu incolta	More barren	onvruchtbaerder	plus sterile	57%
		Portus	porten	puertos	Porti	ports & havens	<u>seehauenen</u>	<u>haures & ports de mer</u>	43%
Gallovidia 18.5, 18.20	<u>Gallo: way</u>	Gallouidia	Gallouidia	Gallouidia	Gallouidia	Galloway	Gallouidia	Gallouidie	25%
lake Myrtoun 18.20	L. Myr: toun	lacus Myrtoun	See Myrtoun	lago Myrtoun	<u>lago Mithoo</u>	Lake Myrtoun	Meer <u>Myrtoun</u>	lac Myrtoun	38%
Coyl 18.6, 18.21 Aër 18.6, 18.21	Coyl Aer	Coyl Aer	Coyl Aer	Coyl Aër	Coil Ae	Coyl Aër	Coyl Aer	Coyl Aer	0% 38%
villages 18.6, 18.21		<u>Vici</u>	<u>Dorpfier</u>	<u>villetas</u> <u>pobladas</u>	spessi borghi	Villages well inhabited	<u>bewoont</u>	habitées	100 %
Argadia 18.8, 18.23	Arga: dia	Argadia	Argadia	Argadia	Argadia	Argadia (Argathelia or Argile	Argadia	Argadie	13%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Buthquhan 18.8, 18.23	<u>Buquhan</u>	Buthquhan	Buthquhan	Buthquhan	Buthquhan	<u>Buquhan</u>	Buthquhan	Buthquhan	25%
province 18.8, 18.23		<u>Regio</u>	Land	<u>tierra</u>	<u>contrada</u>	<u>prouince</u>	Lant	<u>Contrée</u>	71%
Fifa 18.9, 18.24	Fifa	Fifa regio	<u>Landschaft Fifa</u>	la region llamada Fifa	<u>paese di Fifa</u>	<u>The countrie of Fife</u>	<u>lant Fifa</u>	la region de Fifa	50%
The river Forthea 18.9, 18.24	<u>Fors flu.</u>	flumen Forthea	der fluss Forthea	<u>el rio Forthea</u>	fume Fortea	<u>the riuier Forth</u>	<u>Riuier Forthea</u>	le fleuve Forthee	50%
Drisdalia 18.9, 18.24		Drisdalia	Drisdalia	Drisdalia	Drisdalia	Drisdale	Drisdalia	Drisdalie	0%
Edinburgh 18.11, 18.26	EDENBURG	Edinburgum	Edinburg	Eidinburgo	Edinburgo	Edenburgh	Edinburg	Edinbourg	0%
Saint Andrew 18.11, 18.26	S. Andre	S. Andrae	<u>S. Andres</u>	<u>S. Andres</u>	S. Andrea	Saint Andrew	<u>S. Andries</u>	S. André	38%
Aberdeen 18.11, 18.26	<u>Aberdora</u>	Abredonia	Abredonia	Abredonia	Abredonia	Aberdon	Abredonia	Abredonie	13%
Glasgow 18.11, 18.26	Glasquo	Glasguense	Glasqu	Glaesquense	Glasco	Glaso	Glasquo	Glasguense	0%
Perth 18.11, 18.26	<u>[S. Johns]</u>	Perth	Perth	Perth	<u>Pertk</u>	Perth	Perth	Perth	25%
Hebrides 18.12, 18.27	<u>Hebrides insulae</u>	Hebrides	Hebrides	Hebrides	Hebridi	HEBRIDES	Hebrides	Hebrides	13%
Orchades 18.14, 18.29	<u>ORCADES</u> <u>INSULAE The iles of Orknay</u>	Orchades	Orchades	Orchades	<u>Orcadi</u>	<u>ORCHADES or Orkeney iles</u>	<u>ORCHADES or Orkeney iles</u>		50%
Zeland 18.14, 18.29		Zelandia	Zeland	Zelandia	Zelandia	Zeland	Zelandia	Zelande	0%
inhabitants of Shetland		Scetlandici	Schetlaender	los de Scetlanda	di questi Setlandi	<u>The inhabi- tants of the iles of Scetland</u>	Scetlanders	Scetlanders	14%
									aver. 33.8%

Table 5.26 Content words of the Scotland text, Ortr8.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Kingdom 18.3, 18.18		Regnum		Reyno		Kingdome	Coninckrijk	Royaume	40%
pastures for cattle 18.4, 18.19		pecoris pabulum	vieh futers	Pasto	pastura	pasture for cattell	voeder veur de beesten	pature pour les bestes	42%
venison 18.4, 18.19		Ferae	wildt	Fieras	Fiere	deere	Wylts	bestes sauuages	57%
woods and bogs 18.4, 18.19		silvæ et paludes	wælden und seen	los bosques y lagunes	foreste & paludi	woods and bogges	bosschen ende broecken	Bois et marez	29%
famine 18.4, 18.19		Fames	hunger	Hambre	Fame	prouision of victuall	daersy hun onderhouden connen	Faim	57%
wonders 18.5, 18.20		Miranda	wundere	cosas de marauillar	cose am- mirabili	wonders	Wonders	merueilles	57%
frost 18.5, 18.20		Frigora	kelte	Frio	freddo	frosts	bevrosen worden	froidure	14%
oxen 18.5, 18.20		Boues	ochsen	Bueyes	Buoi	Oxen	Ossen	boeufs	43%
oysters 18.5, 18.20		Ostrea	oestern	Ostreas	ostriche	oisters	Oesteren	huîtres	0%
herrings 18.5, 18.20		Halecula	heringen	Harencas	Sardelle	herrings	Haringhen	harens	14%
eels 18.5, 18.20		congrì		congrìos	Alici, Congri	congers	Conrael	congres	17%
mussels 18.5, 18.20		Concha	muscheln	conchas	conche	cockles	Mosselen	moules	43%
cannon 18.6, 18.21		bombarda [artillery]	buchse [hunting, gun]	arcabúsque [harquebus]	bombarda [mortar]	peece of ordnance [cannon]	bussche [gun]	harquebouse [harquebus]	71%
churches and shrines 18.6, 18.21		templa sacellaque	Kirchen und Kapellen	templos y capillas		Churches & Chappels	Kercken ende Capellen	Temples et Chapelles	50%
dedicated to Saints 18.6, 18.21		divis dicata	den Göttern zu ehren	dedicadas a Santos		dedicated to the seruice of Almighty God	den heyligen toegewijdt	dediées aux Saints	67%
lack fins 18.7, 18.22		Pinnis carent	haben keine Flussfedern	carescen de scamas	senza le pinne	haue no finnes	en hebben gheen vlimmen	n'ont point de Pinnes	29%
sailors 18.7, 18.22		Nautae	Schiffleute	marineros	marinari	watermen	Schippers	mariniers	57%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
straw or flax		stramen, stupivae	stroe oder kaff	pajas o estopas	stoppa, ouero altra materia tale	straw or flax	stroo oft stoppelen	paille ou estoupe	71%
black stone 18.9, 18.24		<u>lapis niger</u>	<u>schwartzter stein</u>	pie dra negra	sasso nero	blacke stone, we call it sea coale	<u>Steen</u>	piere noire	71%
roughness of skin 18.9, 18.24		<u>scabritia cutis</u>	<u>rudigkeytt der haut</u>	ronnas entre cuero y carne	asprezze & malatie della pelle	roughnesse of the skinne	<u>scorffheyt des huyts</u>	asprete de la peau	100 %
belt 18.10, 18.25		<u>Zona</u>	<u>gurtel</u>	cinta	cintura		<u>Gordel</u>	centure	50 %
dagger 18.10, 18.25		<u>Pugio</u>	<u>dolgen</u>	punal	pugnale		<u>Poignaert</u>	poignart	16%
King's seat 18.11, 18.26		<u>sedes Regia</u>	<u>Koeniglicher sitz</u>	assiento d'el rey	sedia Regia	<u>kings seat</u>	<u>des Conincx hof Roi</u>	la Cour du Roi	57%
tombs 18.13, 18.28		<u>Sepultura</u>	<u>begraebniss</u>	enterra- mientos	sepulture	<u>tombs</u>	<u>begraeffenisse</u>	sepultures	57%
rotten wood 18.13, 18.28		<u>lignum putrefactum</u>	<u>fawele holtz</u>	leña podrida	legni putre- fatti	<u>rotten wood</u>	<u>verrotte houteren</u>	Bois pourris	57%
one deranged or a natural fool 18.14, 18.29		<u>Amens aut stolidus</u>	<u>tol oder vnwitzich</u>	mente capto	mente catto	<u>one be- straught or a natural fool</u>	<u>uitsinnigen oft sotten</u>	priué de son sens, fol ou enragé	71%
stockfish 18.15, 18.30		<u>Pisces arefacti</u>	<u>getrucknete fisch</u>	pescades secos	pesci secchi	<u>Stockfish</u>	<u>drooghe visschen</u>	poissons secs	57%
Gothic language 18.15, 18.30		<u>Ghotica</u>	<u>Gotische sprache</u>	lengua Gothica	Gothica lingua	<u>Gottish language</u>	<u>Gotische sprake</u>	language Gothique	43%
									aver. 54.1

5.10.3 Low Countries, Orts8

Table 5.27 Carto-bibliographic sources of the Low Countries map texts, Orts8.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Ludovicus Guicciardini 58.2, 58.44		Lud. Guicciardinus	Ludwich Guicciardini	Lud. Guicciardino	Lodouico Guicciardino	Guicciardin	Ludowyck Guicciardin	Louys Guicciardini	71%
Ioannes Goropius Becanus 58.7		Johannes Goropius Becanus	Ioannes Goropius	Ioan. Goropio Becano	Giouanni Becano	John Goropius Becanus			100%
Petrus Diuaeus 58.7		Petrus Diueus	Petrus Diueus	Pedro Diuae	Pietro Doueo	Peter Diuaeus			60%
Hubertus Thomas 58.7		Hubertus Thomas	Hubertus Thomas	Huberto Thomas	Huberto Thoma	Hubert Thomas			60%
									72.8

Table 5.28 Geographical names and concepts in the Low Countries texts, Orts8.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Lower Germany 58.1, 58.42	Germania Inferior	Germania Inferior	Niderlandt	Aleman la baxa	Germania diqua dal Rheno. Germania Inferiore	Germanie on this side of the Rhene, the Netherlands or Low Countries	Nederlandt	le Pays Bas	75%
duchies 58.2, 58.43		Ducatus	Herzogthumb	Ducados	Ducato	Dukedom	hertochdom	Duché	29%
countships 58.2, 58.43		Comitatus	Graffschafft	Condadus	Contado	Earledomes	graefschap	Conté	43%
marquesate 58.2, 58.43		marchionatus	Marggraffschafft	Marquesado	Marchesato	Marquesat	Marck-Graefschap	marquisat	29%
seigniories 58.2, 58.43		Dominia	herligkeit	Señorios	Dominij	Signiories	Heerlyckheden	Seigneuries	57%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
the river Amisus commonly called Eems 58.2, 58.	<u>Eems fl.</u>	<u>Amisus vulgo Eems</u>	<u>Fluss Eems</u>	rio Amiso	fiume <u>Amiso</u> , <u>hoggi Ems</u>	the river Amiso, commonly Eems	de Riviere Eems	la Riviere appelée Eems	50%
Flanders 58.6, 58.48	FLANDRIA	Flandria	Flanderen	<u>Flandes</u>	Fiandra	Flanders	Vlaenderen	Flandres	13%
banks 58.9		Ripa	Am	ribera	Riua	<u>banke</u>			40%
Champagne 58.9	CHAMPA IGNE.	Campania	Campanien	Campania	Campagna	Champagne			0%
Antwerp 58.11	Antwerpen	Antwerpia	<u>Antorff</u>	<u>Enberes</u>	<u>Anuersa</u>	Antwerp	Antwerpen	<u>Anvers</u>	63%
		<u>Andoverpia</u>							
Aken 58.12	Aken	<u>Antorpia</u>	<u>Aachen Aach</u>				Aken	<u>Aix</u>	60%
'sHertogenbosch 58.13	Hertogenbossche	<u>Aquisgranum</u>	Herzogen Busch	<u>Bolduque</u>		Hertoghen Bosche	'sHertogenbosch	<u>Boisleduc</u>	43%
Leuven 58.14	Louen	Louanium	Löwen	<u>Lovayna</u>		Loeuen	Leuven	Louvain	14%
Lille 58.15	<u>Rÿssel</u>	Insula		Lila		Lisle	<u>Rijssel</u>	Lille	33%
Liege 58.16	Liege	<u>Leodium</u>	<u>Lüttich</u>	Liega		Liege	<u>Luyk</u>	Liege	43%
Cologne 58.17	Coelen	Colonia	Köln	Colonia		Coelen	Keulen	<u>Coloigne</u>	29%
		<u>Agrippina</u>							
Dordrecht 58.18	Dordrecht	<u>Dordracum</u>		<u>Dordreque</u>		Dordrecht	Dordrecht		40%
Mechelen 58.19	Machelen	Machlinia	Mechelen	<u>Malines</u>		Machelen	Mechelen	<u>Malines</u>	29%
Tournay 58.20	<u>Dornick</u>	<u>Tornacum</u>	<u>Dornich</u>	Tournay		Tournay	<u>Doornik</u>	Tournay	57%
Arras 58.21	Arras	<u>Atrebatum</u>		Arras			<u>Atrecht</u>	Arras	40%
Maubeuge 58.22	Mabeuge	<u>Malbodium</u>						Maubeuge	33%
Tienen 58.23	Tienen.			<u>Tilemont</u>		Tienen	Tienen	<u>Tilemont</u>	40%
Namur 58.24	Namur	<u>Namurcum</u>	<u>Namurc</u>	Namur			<u>Namen</u>	Namur	50%
Maastricht, Tricht 58.25	Maestricht	<u>Traiectum ad Mosam</u>		Maestrique			Maastricht	Maestrique	20%
Viset 58.26	Weset		Waset	<u>Visé</u>			Weset	<u>Viset</u>	40%
St. Truien 58.27	S. Tryen			Cantron			St. Truien	Centron	50%
Thionville 58.28		Theodonis Villa	<u>Ditenhofen</u>	Thiovila			<u>Dietenhoven</u>	Thionville	40%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Terrewanen, Terreborch, 58.29	Terwane	Tarvanna		Terruana			Terrewanen	Terouenne	0%
Gulik 58.30	Gulick	<u>Iuliacum</u>	Gülich				Gulik	<u>Iuliers</u>	40%
Mons 58.31	Mons	<u>Mons</u>	<u>Bergen</u>				Bergen	<u>Mons</u>	40%
Geertsbergen 58.32	Geertsberge	<u>St. Adrianus</u>					Geertsbergen	<u>Grammont</u>	50%
loudoigne 58.33	<u>loudoig:ine</u>		Geldenaken				Geldenaken	<u>loudoigne</u>	50%
Gemblours 58.34	Gemblours	<u>Gemblacum</u>		<u>Gibblom</u>				Gemblours	50%
Kortrijk 58.37	Cortryck	<u>Cortracum</u>	Kortrich	<u>Courtray</u>			Kortrijk	<u>Courtray</u>	50%
Maas 58.39	Maese fl.	<u>Mosa</u>	Maas	<u>Mosa</u>			Maase	<u>Meuse</u>	0%
Schelde 58.40	Schelde fl.	<u>Scaldis</u>	Schelde	<u>Scalda</u>			Schelde	<u>Escault</u>	17%
									aver. 36%

Table 5.29 Content words for the Low Countries map texts, Ort58.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
bishop 58.2, 58.44		<u>Episcopus</u>	Bischoff	<u>Obispo</u>	<u>Vescouo</u>	Bishop	Bischoep	<u>l'Euesque</u>	57%
duke 58.2, 58.44		<u>Comes</u>	<u>Graue</u>	<u>Conde</u>	<u>Conte</u>	<u>Earle</u>	<u>Graue</u>	<u>Conte</u>	57%
meat 58.4, 58.46		<u>Carnes</u>	<u>flaisch</u>	<u>carne</u>	<u>Carni</u>	<u>flesh</u>	<u>veesch</u>	<u>chair</u>	43%
overmoist 58.3, 58.47		<u>plus aequo</u> <u>humidus</u>	<u>Zu feucht</u>	<u>demasiado</u> <u>humedo</u>	<u>humido piu</u> <u>del douere</u>	<u>overmoist</u>	<u>wat te vochtich</u>	<u>trop humide</u>	100%
Foreigners 58.6, 58.48		<u>Exteri</u>	<u>frembde</u>	<u>extrangeros</u>	<u>stranieri</u>	<u>strangers</u>	<u>vreemde</u>	<u>estrangers</u>	43%
Bilingual 58.8		<u>Bilinguis</u>	<u>zweyerley</u> <u>Spraach</u> <u>gebraucht</u>	<u>trecho</u> <u>de dos</u> <u>lenguages</u>	<u>paese di due</u> <u>linguaggi</u>	<u>speak both</u> <u>the Dutch</u> <u>and French</u> <u>languages</u>	<u>Natien</u>		100%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
negotiations 58.8		negotiationes	<u>Kauffmanschafft</u>	<u>Commercios</u>	negotij	other occasions			60 %
unacquainted 58.10		minimè versatus	gar nit bekanndt	No versado	niente pratico	vnacquainted			60 %
Synonyms 58.10		synonyma	mancherley Namen	synonymos	diversi vocaboli	synonymas			40 %
									aver.60%

5.10.4 Como, Roma, Friuli, Ort129

Table 5.30 Carto-bibliographic sources of the Como-Rome-Friuli map texts, Ort129.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Strabo 129.3		Strabo	Strabo	Strabon	Strabone	Strabo			40%
Q. Fabius Pictor 129.16		Q. Fab. Pictor	Q. Fabius Pictor	Q. Fab. Pictor	Q. Fabio Pittore	Q. Fabius Pictor			60%
Sextus Rufus 129.16		Sex. Ruffus	Sextus Ruffus	Sex. Ruffo	Sesto Ruffo	Sex. Rufus			100%
Publius Victor 129.16		P. Victor	P. Victor	P. Victor	P. Vittore	P. Victor			20%
Georgius Fabritius 129.17		Georgius Fabritius	Georgius Fabricius	Georg. Fabritio	Georgio Fabritio	Georgius Fabricius			60%
									56%

Table 5.31 Geographical names and concepts for the Como-Rome-Friuli map texts, Ort129.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Lake 129.1	lacus	Lacvs	See	lago	Lago	lake	Zee oft Meer	lac	25%
Territories 129.15	territorivm	territorivm	Landtschafft	territorio	territorio	territories	D'landtschap	le pays	25%
									aver.25%

Table 5.32 Content words of the Como-Rome-Friuli map texts, Ortr29.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Fenduck 129.2, 129.19		Fulica	Wasserhuen hailgeese	lapos. cerceta	Folega	Fenducke	waterhoen	poulle d'eau	71%
vines 129.2, 129.20		Vineae	weinraben	viñas	Vigne	vines	wijngaerden		33%
olives 129.2, 129.20		Oleae	ölbeum	oliuares	oliueti	olives	olijfboom		33%
Chestnut trees 129.2, 129.20		arbores castanearum	kestnitz beum	bosquez de castaños	boschi di castagni	Chessenut- trees	castani boomen	Chastaigniers	71%
place for pleasure and delight 129.3, 129.20		deliciae excogitatus	lauter lusts halben	deleyte	delitie	pleasure and delight	lustig oort	maison de plaisance	71%
Engraved 129.4		Incisus	gehawen	entallados	scolpite	engrauen			100 %
marble 129.4		Marmora	Marmorstein	marmoles	marmo	marble			40%
amphitheatre 129.23		Theatrum	Theatrum				Theatre	Theatre	0%
Pucinum wine 129.24	Pucinum	Pucinum	Pucinum				Reynvael	Pucinum	20%
									aver. 46.4

5.10.5 Hungary, Ortr150

Table 5.33 Carto-bibliographic sources of the Hungary texts, Ortr50.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
St. Hieronymus 150.4		Hieronymus diuus	Sanct Jeronymus	S. Hieronymo	S. Hieronimo	S. Martine			60%
Stephanus Broderith 150.13, 150.22		Stephanus Broderith	Broderith	Esteuan Broderith	Stefano Broderetho	Steeuen Broderith	Broderith	Broderith	57%
Antonius Bonfinius 150.13, 150.19, 150.22		Ant. Bonfinius	Bonfinius	Antonio Bonfinio	Antonio Bonfinio	Antony Bonfinius	Bonfinius	Bonfin	71%
Cuspinianus 150.13		Cuspinianus	Cuspinianus	Cuspiniano	Cuspiniano	Cuspinian			60%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Georg Wernher 150.13, 150.16, 150.19, 150.22		Georgius Wernherus	Georgius Wernherus	George Wernhero	Georgio Vernero	George Wernher	Wernherus	Wernher	71% aver. 63.8%

Table 5.34 Geographical names and concepts in map texts of Hungary, Ortuño.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Hunni or Hungari 150.2, 150.15		Hunni vel Hungari	Huynen oder Hunnen	Hunnos o Hungaros	Hunni ouero Hungari	Hunni or Hungari	Huns of Huins	Huns	43%
Scythia 150.2, 150.15		Scythia	Scythien	Schythia	Scitia	Scythia	Scythien	Scythe	0%
Longobards 150.15							Longobarden	Longo- barden	0%
Danube 150.3, 150.16	<u>Danubius fluius</u>	<u>Danubius</u>	Donaw	<u>Danubio</u>	<u>Danubio</u>	<u>Donaw</u> (<u>Danubius</u>)	Donaw	<u>Danube</u>	75%
mountain range									
Caecius 150.3		Mons Caecius	<u>Berg Caecius</u>	môte Caecio	monte Cecio	mount Caecius			20%
Slavonia 150.3, 150.18	Slavonia	Slauonia	<u>Slauonien</u>	Slauonia	<u>Slauonia</u> ò <u>Schiaonia</u>	Slauonia	<u>Slauonien</u>	<u>Slauone</u>	50%
Székesfehérvár 150.4, 150.17	<u>Stul Weissenburg</u> <u>Alba Regalis</u>	<u>Alba Regalis</u>	<u>Stuel weissen- burg</u>	<u>Alba Real</u>	<u>Alba Regalis</u>	<u>Alba Regalis</u> (<u>Stulweis- senburg</u>)	<u>Stulweis- senburg</u>	<u>Stulweis- senborg</u>	63%
Pécs [Quinque- ecclesia] 150.4		Quinque- ecclesiae	<u>Fünfkirchen</u>	Quin- queccle- siense	Cinque- Chiese	Quinque- ecclesiae (<u>Fünfkirchen</u> , <u>Petscheu</u>)			40%
Adriatic coast 150.6		Mare Adriaticum	Adriatische Meer	<u>la costa</u> d'el mar <u>Adriatico</u>	mar Hadriatico	<u>Hadriaticke sea</u>			40%
Carpathian mountains 150.7		Montes Carpathii	<u>das Carpathische</u> <u>Gebirg</u>	los montes Carpathios	li monti Carpatij	montes Carpathij			20% aver. 35.1%

Table 5.35 Some content words of the Hungary map texts, Orti50.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Scythian language 150.10, 150.18		Scytica lingua	Scythische sprach	la lengua Scytica	linguaggio loro di Scitia	Scythian language	Scytische tale	langage Scythique	29%
remnants 150.9, 150.17	vestigia	vestigia	zerbrochen und verfallen stuckh	rastros	fondamenti	a mention	ruinen oft vervallen stucken	ruines	75%
bridge 150.9, 150.17	pons	Pons	bruckhen	puente	Ponte	bridge	brugge	pont	38%
strange waters 150.13		de admirandis aquis	von den wunderbaren Wasserren hasel welsche nuss	de las marauillosas aguas	delle mara- uigliose acque	about the strange waters			60%
hazelnuts 150.19 acorns 150.19							haeselnoten okernoten	auelaine noix	33% 100%
gratitude 150.22			dankh sagen				danck seggen	rendre vn. grand merci	33% aver. 49.9

5.10.6 Northern regions, Orti60

Table 5.36 Some carto-bibliographic sources of the Northern regions map texts, Orti60.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Iacobus Zieglerus 160.3, 160.9, 160.17		Iacobus Zieglerus	Jacobus Zieglerus	Iacobo Zieglerio	Iacopo Zeiglerio	Iacobus Zieglerus			40%
Nicolao Zeno 160.10		Nicolaus Zenus	Nicolao Zeno	Zeno	Zeno	Zenus			60%
Olaus Magnus the Goth 160.17, 160.25		Olaus Magnus Gothus	Olaus Magnus auss Gothen	Olao Magno Godo	Olao Magno Gotho	Olaus Magnus Gothus	Olaus Magnus	Olaus Magnus	57%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Saxo Grammaticus 160.17		Saxo Grammaticus	Saxo Grammaticus	Saxon Grammatico	Sassone Grammatico	Saxo Grammaticus			40%
Peter Quirinus 160.17		Petrus Quirinus	Petrus Quirinus	Pedro Quirino	Pietro Quirino	Peter Quirinus			60%
Christopher Fioravante 160.17		Christophorus Fiorauans	Christophoro Fiorauante	Christophoro Fiorauante	Christoforo Fiorauante	Christopher Fiorauante			60%
Nicolas Michaëlis 160.17		Nicolaus Michaëlis	Nicolao Michaëlis	Nicolas Michaelis	Nicolo Michele	Nicholas Michel			100%
Albertus Crantzius 160.17, 160.26		Albertus Crantzius	Albertus Krantz	Alberto Crantzio	Alberto Crantzio	Albertus Crantzius	Albertus Crantzius	Albertus Crantzius	71%
Saint Willibrord 160.28			Sankt Willibrordt				S. Willibrordt	S. Willibrordt	100%
									aver. 65.3

Table 5.37 Geographical names and concepts of the Northern regions map texts, Ortr60.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Scandia or Northern Regions 160.1, 160.2, 160.19, 160.20	Regio Septentrionalis	Scandia sive Regiones Septentrionales	Nordische Lender	Scandia o Regiones Septentrionales	Scandia ouero le regioni setten-trionali	Scandia or the Northern Kingdoms	Noordtsche Landen	les Pays Septentrionaux	63%
The Kingdom of Denmark 160.3, 160.20	DA: NIA	Regnum Danicum	Khunigreich von Dennemarckh	Reyno Danico	Reame di Dania	the Kingdom of Denmark	Coninckrijck van Dene-marcken	le Royaume de Dene-marque	50%
Scandinavia 160.2		Scandinauia	Scandinauia	Scandinauia	Scandinauia	Scandinauia			0%
Baltia 160.2		Baltia	Baltia	Baltia	Baltia	Baltia			0%
Basilia 160.2		Basilia	Basilia	Basilia	Basilia	Basilia			0%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
foreign countries 160.5		<u>exportentur</u>	<u>anderswa hin</u> <u>fuhren köñe</u>	Para ser <u>lleuados</u> <u>fuera</u>	trapportarsi <u>fuora</u>	to be transported any <u>whither</u>			100%
hydrographers 160.10		Hydrographi	<u>Wasserbe-</u> <u>schreiber</u>	Hydro- graphos	depintori di <u>carte da</u> <u>naugare</u>	Hydrogra- phers			40%
Stockholm 160.8, 160.21	Stockholm	Stockholm	Stockholm	Stockholm	Stockolm	Stockholme	Stockholm		0%
Gotland 160.3, 160.21	Gothia	Gothia	Gothen	Gothia	Gothia	Gothia (<u>Gotland</u>)	<u>Gotlandt</u>	<u>Gotlande</u>	38%
									aver. 36.4%

Table 5.38 Some content words of the Northern regions map texts, Orttöo.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
hereditary succession 160.4		haereditaria successio	erbliche Succession oder <u>Verfolgung</u>	succession de herentia	succession d' herede	hereditary succession			20%
elections 160.4		Electio	<u>erwehlung</u>	election	elttione	election			20%
permission 160.5		<u>neque potest</u>	<u>in seiner gewalt</u> <u>haben</u>	<u>tiene en su</u> <u>poder</u>	<u>haue in</u> <u>potesta</u>	at the <u>command of</u>			100%
codfish 160.6		Aselli	Fisch von der art der Asellen	<u>Merlu</u>	Aselli ò Asinelli	a kind of codde			40%
the Germans call it stockfish 160.6, 160.23		<u>Germani dicunt</u> <u>Stockfish</u>	<u>die Teutschen</u> <u>Stockfish</u> <u>nennen</u>	los Ale- manos le llaman Stockfish	li Tedeschi anche Stockfish lo chiamano	the Germanes call it Stockfish	<u>Stockvisch</u>	<u>Stocfish ou</u> <u>Merlu</u>	71%
snow is not longlived 160.7		<u>niues non diu</u> <u>durant</u>	<u>liegt auch kein</u> <u>Schnee lang</u>	<u>las nieuas</u> <u>duran poco</u>	<u>ne le neu</u> <u>gran fatto</u> <u>durano</u>	<u>the snow</u> <u>continueth not</u> <u>long</u>			100%
wooden piles 160.8, 160.21		Palae	<u>Stöcken</u>	<u>maderos</u>	Pali	Piles	<u>houten pylen</u>	<u>pilotez de</u> <u>bois</u>	57%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
shelves and rocks 160.12		<u>brevi et scopuli</u>	Fuhrten vnnd <u>Steinklippen</u>	<u>rocas y</u> <u>baxas</u>	<u>scogli &</u> <u>secche</u>	<u>shelves and</u> <u>rocks</u>			100%
monastery 160.13		<u>monasterium</u>	<u>Closter</u>	<u>Monesterio</u>	<u>Conuento</u>	<u>monastery</u>			40%
porous or light stone 160.14		<u>Tophus</u>	Reib oder <u>Sandsteinen</u>	<u>piedra toska</u>	<u>tufo &</u> <u>porice</u>	<u>hollow light</u> <u>stone</u>			100%
bitumen 160.14		bitumen	<u>Lätt</u>	<u>maciza</u>	bitume	Bitumen			40%
orchards 160.15		Horti	<u>Gärten</u>	huertas	<u>Frutti</u>	<u>orchyards</u>			60%
bears 160.25			Beren				Baeren	<u>Ours</u>	33%
foxes 160.25			Fuchs				Vossen	<u>Renards</u>	33%
ravens 160.25			Raben				Rauen	<u>Corbeaux</u>	33%
sulphur 160.25			<u>zwebel</u>				Solffer	<u>soulphre</u>	33%
swallowed 160.29			<u>ingeschlonden</u>				<u>binnen</u> <u>ghesluert</u>	<u>desgorgees</u>	100%
human beings 160.30			menschen				menschen	<u>des hommes</u>	33%
werewolves 160.30			Weerwolf				Weerwoluen	<u>Loups garoux</u>	33%
									aver. 62.3%

5.10.7 Russia, Ort162.

Table 5.39 Some carto-bibliographic sources of the Russia map texts, Ort162.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Sigismundus of Herberstein 162.2,		<u>Sigismundus</u> <u>Baro ab</u>	<u>Sigismundus von</u> <u>Herberstein</u>	<u>Sigismundo</u> <u>Baron de</u>	<u>Sigismondo</u> <u>Barone</u>	<u>Sigismundus</u> <u>Baro of</u>	<u>Sigismundus</u> <u>van Herber-</u>	<u>Sigismonde</u> <u>d'Herber-</u>	100%
162.11		<u>Herberstain</u>		<u>Herberstein</u>	<u>d'Herbestein</u>	<u>Herberstein</u>	<u>steyn</u>	<u>steyn</u>	
Mathias à Michou 162.8		<u>Mathias à Michou</u>	<u>Matthia von</u> <u>Michou</u>	<u>Mathias de</u> <u>Michou</u>	<u>Matthia di</u> <u>Michou</u>	<u>Matthew of</u> <u>Micou</u>			100%
Alexander Gaguine 162.8		<u>Alexander</u> <u>Gaguinus</u>			<u>Gaguino</u>	<u>Alexander</u> <u>Gaguine</u>			100%

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Albert Crantz 162.8		Albertus <u>Crantz</u> <u>io</u>	Alberto <u>Krantz</u>	Alberto <u>Crantz</u> <u>io</u>	il <u>Crantz</u> <u>io</u>	Albert <u>Crantz</u>			100%
Albertus Campensis 162.8		Albertus <u>Campensis</u>	Alberto <u>Campensi</u>	Alberto <u>Campense</u>	Alberto <u>Campense</u>	Albertus <u>Campensis</u>			60%
Ambrosius		Ambrosius	Ambrosio	Ambrosio	Ambrosio	Ambrosio			20%
Contarenus 162.8		Contarenus	Contareno	Contareno	Contarino	Contareno			40%
Bonfinius 162.8		Bonfinius	Bonfinij	Bonfinio	Bonfinio	Bonfinius			60%
Oderborne 162.8		Oderbornius		Oderbornio	Oderbonio	Oderborne			100%
David Chytraeus 162.8		David Chytraeus		Dauid	Chitreo	Dauid			50%
				<u>Chytreo</u>		Chytraeus			aver. 53.3%

Table 5.40 Geographical names and concepts in the Russia map texts, Ort162.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Russia 162.1, 162.10	RUSSIA	Russia	<u>Russen</u>	Russia	Russia	Russia	<u>Ruyssen</u>	Russie	25%
Poland 162.2, 162.10		Polonia	<u>Polen</u>	Polonia	<u>Pollonia</u>	Polonia	<u>Polen</u>	<u>Pologne</u>	57%
Lithuania 162.2, 162.10	<u>Lituania</u>	Lithuania	<u>Litavv</u>	Lithuania	Lithuania	Lithuania	<u>Littaw</u>	<u>Littau</u>	50%
The frozen sea 162.2	<u>Mare Septentrionale</u>	Mare Glaciale	<u>Eissmeer</u>	Mar helado	mar Gelato	frozen Sea			50%
Tartars 162.2, 162.11		Tartari	Tartaren	Tartaros	Tartari	Tartars	Tartaren	Tartarie	0%
Turks 162.2		Turci	<u>Türcken</u>	Turcos	Turchi	Turkes			100%
Livonia 162.2, 162.11	Livonia	Liunia	<u>Liefflandt</u>	Liunia	Liunie	<u>Lithuania</u>	<u>Lyflandt</u>	<u>Lyflande</u>	50%
Tanais 162.6, 162.14	<u>Don uel Tanais fl.</u>	Tanais	<u>Don (ehzeiten Tanais)</u>	Tanais	Tanai	Don (Tanais the ancients call it Tanais)	Don (eertijts Tanais)	Don (iadis Tanais)	75%
									63%

Table 5.41 Some content words of the Russia map texts, Ort162.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Religion 162.2, 162.12		Religio	Religion	religion	religion	Religion	Religie	Religion	0%
Baptised 162.3, 162.12		baptisantur	<u>Taufe</u>	bautizan	battezano	baptized	<u>doopen</u>	baptiser	29%
princes, lords 162.3, 162.12		Principes	<u>Fürsten</u>	Principes	Principe	<u>Princes</u>	<u>groote heeren</u>	<u>grands Seigneurs</u>	57%
noblemen, rich people 162.3, 162.12		Nobiles	<u>denen vom Adel</u>	nobles	nobili	Noblemen	<u>rijcke lieden</u>		33%
have mercy on us 162.3, 162.12		<u>miserere nostril</u>	<u>erbarm dich</u> <u>unser</u>	misericordia	misericordia	<u>have mercy</u> <u>upon us</u>	<u>ontfermt u</u> <u>onser</u>	<u>misericorde</u>	57%
sacrament 162.4, 162.13		sacramentum	Sacrament	Sacramento	Sacramento	sacrament	Sacrament	Sacrament	0%
Purgatory 162.4, 162.14		Purgatorium	<u>Fegfeuer</u>	purgatorio	Purgatorio	Purgatory	<u>Vegevier</u>	Purgatoire	29%
Bigamy 162.5, 162.14		Bigamus	<u>dass einer zwei</u> <u> weiber nemme</u>	<u>segundo</u> <u>casamiento</u>	<u>rimaritari</u>	bigamy	<u>andervverf</u> <u>trouvvet</u>	<u>remarier</u>	71%
divorces 162.5, 162.14		Diuortia	<u>die Eheleut</u> <u>scheyden</u>	diuorcio	diuortij	diuorces	<u>te scheyden</u>	diuorce	29%
wily and deceitful 162.5, 162.14		Astute et fallax	<u>verschmisst und</u> <u>triegisch</u>	astuta y <u>tramposa</u>	astuta, fallace	wilie and deceitfull	<u>schalck ende</u> <u>bedriechelijck</u>	<u>cauteleux et</u> <u>deceuable</u>	71%
robberies 162.6		<u>depraedationes</u>	<u>streuffen</u>	robos	ruberie	robberies	Roouers	<u>brigands</u>	43%
theft 162.6, 162.15		<u>Furta</u>	Diebstal	<u>hurtos</u>	<u>rubatori</u>	<u>pilfering</u>	Diefte	<u>larrecin</u>	71%
precious furs 162.7, 162.16		Pelles nobiles	<u>köstliche gute</u> <u>Fell</u>	pellejos nobles	PELLI nobili	skinnies or pelts	<u>costelijcke</u> <u>pelterve oft</u> <u>bontvverck</u>	<u>pellisses &</u> <u>fourrures</u>	57%
									aver.42.1

5.10.8 East Indies, Ort166

Table 5.42 Some carto-bibliographic sources of the East Indies text, Ort166.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
Dominicus Niger 166.2		Dom. Niger	Dom. Niger	<u>Domingo Negro</u>	<u>Domenico Negro</u>	<u>Dominicus Niger</u>			60%
Diodorus Siculus 166.8		Diodorus Siculus	Diodorus Siculus	<u>Diodoro Siculo</u>	<u>Diodoro Siciliano</u>	Diodorus Siculus			40%
Herodotus 166.8		Herodotus	Herodotus	<u>Herodoto</u>	<u>Herodoto</u>	Herodotus			40%
Quintus Curtius 166.8		<u>Q. Curtius</u>	<u>Q. Curtius</u>	Q. Curtio	Q. Curtio	<u>Quintus Curtius</u>			60%
Arrianus 166.8		Arrianus	Arrianus	<u>Arriano</u>	<u>Arriano</u>	Arrianus			40%
Apuleius 166.8		Apuleius		<u>Apuleo</u>	<u>Apuleo</u>	Apuleius			50%
Dion Pruseus 166.8		Dion Prusaesus		Dion	Dione	Dion Prusaesus			50%
Ludovicus Vartomannus 166.8		Ludouicus Vartomannus	Ludouicus Vartomannus	<u>Ludouico Vartomanno</u>	<u>Vartomanno</u>	Ludouicus Vartomannus			40%
Maximilianus Transylvanus 166.8		Maximilianus Transylvanus	Maximilianus Transylvanus	<u>Maximilian Transilvano</u>	<u>Massimilian Transilvano</u>	Maximilianus Transylvanus			40%
Petrus Gyllius 166.8		Petrus Gyllius	Petrus Gyllius	<u>Pedro Gyllio</u>	<u>Pietro Gillio</u>	Petrus Gyllius			40%
Ioannes Macer 166.8		<u>Ioannes Macer</u>	<u>Johann Macer</u>	<u>Ioan Magro</u>	<u>Macro</u>	<u>Iohn Macer</u>			100%
Castagnedo 166.8		Castagnedo	Castagnedo	<u>Castañedo</u>	Castagnedo	Gastagnedo			20%
Gonsalves Ferdinandus Ovetani 166.8		<u>Gonsalus Ferdinandus Ovetanus</u>		<u>Gonzalo Fernandes de Ouedo</u>	<u>Gonzalo Fernandes de Ouedo</u>	<u>Gonsaluo Quetani</u>			100%
Iohannes Barros 166.10		<u>Ioannes Barrius</u>	Johannes Barrius	<u>Ioan Barrio</u>	<u>Giouanni di Barros</u>	Iohannes Barrius			60%
									aver. 56%

Table 5.43 Geographical names and conceptsof the East Indies map texts, Ortr6.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
East Indies 166.1, 166.9	<u>India Orientalis</u>	India	India	India	<u>l'India Orientale</u>	India	Indien	Inde	25%
The river Indus 166.2, 166.14	Indus fl.	flumen Indus	Fluss Indo	<u>rio Indo</u>	fiume Indo	the river Indus	<u>Riuere Indus</u>	<u>Riuere Inde</u>	50%
The river Ganges 166.2	<u>Guenga fl.</u>	<u>flumen Ganges</u>	Fluss Ganges	<u>rio Ganges</u>	fiume Ganges	<u>the river Ganges</u>	lapan		67%
Japan 166.4, 166.12	lapan	lapan	Japan	lapan	lapan	lapan	lapan	lapan	0%
Zipangri, 166.4 latitude 166.4		Zipangri <u>Caelum</u>	Zipangri <u>Elevation des Himmels</u>	Zipangri <u>situacion en respecto d'el cielo</u>	Zipangri <u>clima d'altezza di Polo</u>	Zipangri <u>the same elevation of the Northern pole and position from the South</u>			0% 100%
Sumatra, once called Taprobana 166.6,	Sumatra olim Taprobana	Sumatra olim Taprobana	<u>Sumatra welche vorzeiten Taprobana geheissen</u>	Sumatra antiquamente Taprobana	<u>Sumatra</u>	Sumatra, or rather Samotra			50%
Borneo 166.6	Borneo	Borneo	Borneo	Borneo	Borneo	Borneo			0%
Timor 166.6	<u>Timor; Tidore ins.</u>	Timor	Timor	Timor	Timor	Timor			17%
Oreliana 166.14			Oreliana				Oreliana	Oreliana	0%
Amasonia 166.14			Amasonia				Amasonia	Amasonia	0%
									aver.28.1

Table 5.44 Some content words of the East Indies map texts Ortr66.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM
irrigate 166.3		<u>Irriguus</u>	<u>Beglessen</u>	el suelo <u>hurnedo</u>	<u>adacqu-</u> <u>andosi</u>	<u>watering</u>			100%
spices 166.3, 166.10		<u>Aromata</u>	<u>Gewürtz</u>	<u>species</u> <u>aromaticus</u>	<u>spetieri</u>	<u>Spices</u>			100 %
precious stones 166.3, 166.10		<u>Gemmae</u>	<u>costlichen</u> <u>gestain</u>	<u>piedras</u> <u>preciosas</u>	<u>gemmi</u>	<u>Pretious stones</u>			60%
searchers of the truth 166.4		<u>addictissimus</u> <u>sapientiae</u>	<u>spitzfundige</u> <u>Undersucher</u> <u>oder Erkündiger</u> <u>der Wahrheit</u>	<u>pesqui-</u> <u>sidores de la</u> <u>veridad</u>	<u>inuesti-</u> <u>gatori</u> <u>sollectissimi</u> <u>delle verita</u>	<u>searchers out</u> <u>of the truth</u>			100%
shrines 166.5		<u>Delubra</u>	<u>Kirchen</u>	<u>yglesias</u>	<u>oratione</u>	<u>Churches</u>			100
ecclesiastical matters 166.5		<u>res sacrae</u>	<u>Geistliche und</u> <u>Religiöns sachen</u>	<u>cosas</u> <u>sagradas y</u> <u>religion</u>	<u>cosae sacre</u> <u>& della</u> <u>religione</u>	<u>Ecclesiastical</u> <u>matters</u>			60%
Demons 166.5		<u>Daemones</u>	<u>böse Geister</u>	<u>demonio</u>	<u>diavolo</u> <u>Satan</u>	<u>Satan</u>			60%
Manucodiatta 166.6, 166.13		<u>Manucodiatta</u>	<u>Manucodiatta</u>	<u>Manu-</u> <u>codiatta</u>	<u>Manu-</u> <u>codiatta</u>	<u>Manucodiatta</u>	<u>Manucodiatta</u>	<u>Manucodiatta</u>	14%
bird of Paradise, 166.6		<u>Paradysus</u>	<u>Paradeiss Vogel</u>	<u>Aue d'el</u> <u>parayso</u>	<u>ucello del</u> <u>Paradiso</u>	<u>bird of</u> <u>Paradise</u>		<u>Oyseau de</u> <u>Paradis</u>	50%
Gods little bird 166.13			<u>Gottes voglein</u>				<u>Gods</u> <u>voghelken</u>	<u>Oyseau de</u> <u>Dieu</u>	33%
sharpwitted 166.12			<u>scharpfsinnig</u>				<u>scherp sinnich</u>	<u>ingenieux</u>	33%
									59.9

5.10.9 Ancient Sicily, Ort211

Table 5.45 Some carto-bibliographic sources of the Ancient Sicily map texts.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Italian	English	French	DM
Hesiodus 211.3		Hesiodus		<u>Esiodo</u>	Hesiodus	<u>Hesiode</u>	50%
Eustathius 211.3		Eustathius	Eustathius	<u>Eustatio</u>	Eustathius	Eustathius	20%
Pomponius Mela 211.4		Pomponius	Pomponius	<u>Pomponia</u>	<u>Pomponius Mela</u>	Pomponius	40%
Homerus 211.10		Homerus	Homerus	<u>Homero</u>	Homer		50%
Iulius Firmicus 211.11		Iulius Firmicus		<u>Giulio Firmico</u>	Iulius Firmicus		33%
Solinus 211.12		Solinus		<u>Solino</u>	Solinus	<u>Solin</u>	50%
Iulius Pollux 211.13		<u>Iul. Pollux</u>		<u>Giulio Polluce</u>	<u>Iulius Pollux</u>		100%
Pausanias 211.14		Pausanias	Pausanias	<u>Pausania</u>	Pausanias		25%
Erasmus 211.15		Erasmus	Erasmus	<u>Erasmo</u>	Erasmus		25%
							aver.38.8

Table 5.46 Some geographical names and concepts of the Ancient Sicily map texts. Note that this map text does not occur in Dutch and Spanish.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Italian	English	French	DM
Sicilian traits 211.3	<u>Mamertinum Fretum</u>	<u>fretum Siculum</u>	<u>Sicilische Enge</u>	<u>Stretto di Sicilia</u>	<u>Sicilian strights</u>	<u>El faro de Messina</u>	100 %
Troy 211.9		Troia	Troia	Troia	<u>Troy</u>		25%
Sicily 211.9	Sicilia	Sicilia	Sicilia	Sicilia	Sicilia	<u>Sicile</u>	17%
Cumana 211.11		Cumana	<u>Cumis</u>	Cumana	Cumana	Cumana	20%
Naxus 211.14		Naxus	Naxus	<u>Naxo</u>	Naxus (<u>Nicsia it is now called</u>)		50%
							42.4

Table 5.47 Some content words of the Ancient Sicily map texts, Ort211.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Italian	English	French	DM
antiquity 211.2		Antiquitas	alte Scribenten	l'antichità	Antiquity	les anciens	40%
earth quake or chasm 211.2		terrae motus vel hiatus	Erdbeben oder Spaltung	tremoto ò voragine	earthquake	tremblement ou ouverture de terre	100%
fables 211.3		Fabulae	Fabeln	fauole	Fables	Fables	0%
trident 211.3		Tridens	dreispissigen gabel	ordigno che ha tre denti	threatened mace	instrument à trois dents	100%
consacrated 211.4		sacra esse	geweiht	sacrata	consecrated	Consacré	20%
commonwealth 211.5		Republica	gemeinê bestens	Republica	common wealth	Rep.	40%
saffron 211.6		Centuripinus Crocus	Centuripinische Saffran	zafrana Centupurino	Centorui saffron (Crocus Centuripinus	saffran de Centuripine	40%
wheat 211.7		triticum	Weytzen	formento	Wheat	Froment	60%
histories 211.8		historiae	Historien	l'histoire	Histories	Histoires	0%
nimble wit 211.11		acutus		acuti	acute and nimble witted	acute and nimble	33%
lascivious 211.11		lascius		lasciui	Lascivious		0%
Verbose 211.11		Dicax		fauellatori	full of words		100%
harlot 211.11		meretrix	huer	puttana	Harlot	Putaine	60%
Smaragd 211.13		smaragdus		Smeraldo	Smaragde		33%
hares 211.13		lepores		lepri	Hares		33%
							aver. 43.9

5.10.10 Ancient Greece, Ort215

Table 5.48 Some carto-bibliographic sources of the Ancient Greece map texts, Ort215.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Italian	English	French	DM
Ptolemaeus 215.2		Ptolemaeus	Ptolemaeus	<u>Tolomeo</u>	<u>Ptolemey</u>	<u>Ptolemée</u>	60%
Plinius 215.2		Plinius	Plinius	<u>Plinio</u>	<u>Pliny</u>	<u>Pline</u>	60%
Manilius 215.3				Manilio	Manilius		100%
Plutarchus 215.7		<u>Plutarchus</u>		<u>Plutarco</u>	<u>Plutarch</u>	<u>Plutarche</u>	100%
Lucianus 215.8		Lucianus	Lucianus	<u>Luciano</u>	<u>Lucian</u>		50%
Pinetus 215.8		Pinetus				Pinetus	0%
Isocrates 215.8		Isocrates		<u>Isocrate</u>	Isocrates		33%
Thucydides 215.9		Thucydides	Thucydide	Thucydide	<u>Thucydides</u>		50%
Polyaenus 215.9		<u>Polyaenus</u>	<u>Polyaeno</u>	<u>Polieno</u>	<u>Polyenus</u>		100%
							aver. 61.4

Table 5.49 Geographical names and concepts of the map texts of Ancient Greece, Ort215. Note that there are no editions with Dutch or with Spanish text for this map.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Italian	English	French	DM
Greece 215.1	GRAECIA	Graecia	Griechenland	Grecia	Graecia, Greece	Grece	17%
Athens 215.2	ATHENAE	Athenae	Athen	Athene	Athens	Athenes	67%
Macedonia 215.2	MACEDONIA	Macedonia	Macedonia	Macedonia	Macedonia	<u>Macedoine</u>	17%
Peloponnesos 215.2	PELOPONNESVS	Peloponnesus	Peloponnesus	<u>Peloponesso</u>	Peloponnesus	<u>Peloponnese</u>	33%
Dalmatia 215.3		Dalmatia	Dalmatia	Dalmatia	Dalmatia	<u>Dalmatie</u>	20%
							aver. 30.8

176 *Table 5.50* Some content words in the Ancient Greece map texts, Ort215.

Translation	On map	Latin	German	Italian	English	French	DM
recommendations 215.2		praeconium	weiter gelobt	pregio. dauantaggio	commendations	Louenge	100%
historiographers 215.2		vulgus scriptorium	gemeynen hauff der Scribenten	nobil turba de scrittori	Historiographers	les auteurs vulgaires	100%
valour 215.3		vires		forze	Valour		100%
esteem 215.3		dignitas		dignita	Estimation		33%
Statutes 215.4		leges		leggi & statuti	Statutes		100%
fortress 215.6		Arx	Festung	rocca	fortresse	Chasteau	100
war and peace 215.6		pax & bellum	Kriegen und Fridens zeiten	guerre & paci	at home and abroad		100%
records 215.7		monumenta	Schrifften	memorie lasciatesi	Records		100%
diligently 215.9		diligentissime	aufs fleissigste	diligētissima- mête	Curiously	tres grande diligence	60%
							aver,91.2%

Table 5.51 Merged results of DM-measures over 10 map texts for the word category Carto-bibliographical Names as calculated above, presented as percentages.

Map text number	DM	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM average
Africa, Ort8			27	40	76	81	52	0	0	54.1%
Scotland, Ort18			50	0	100	100	100	67	33	71.3%
Low Countries, Ort58			25	50	75	100	100	100	100	78.5%
Como etc. Ort129			60	20	80	100	20			56.0%
Hungary, Ort150			60	20	80	80	100	33	67	55.0%
Nordic Regions, Ort160			38	33	67	88	63	100	100	61.1%
Russia, Ort162			89	100	63	78	78	100	100	76.0%
East Indies, Ort166			29	18	100	85	29			52.2%
Ancient Sicily, Ort211			11	0		100	33		50	38.8%
Ancient Greece, Ort215			25	20		88	88		75	
DM average			41.4%	30.1%	64.1%	90.0%	66.3%	66.7%	65.6%	60.6%

5.11 Results

Since our main interest is focussed on differences between languages rather than on differences between one map text versus another, we will now for each word category merge the Difference Measures obtained above.

Let us first turn to the word category of Carto-bibliographical Names. These are listed in table 5.51.

These results, merged over the map texts, with DM's in increasing order, is given in figure 5.4 below.

5.11.1 Discussion of the word category Carto-bibliographical Names

This category of words received Difference Measures under the strictest scoring condition: any spelling difference was sufficient for calling a Carto-bibliographical Name different when compared to the same name in a different language.

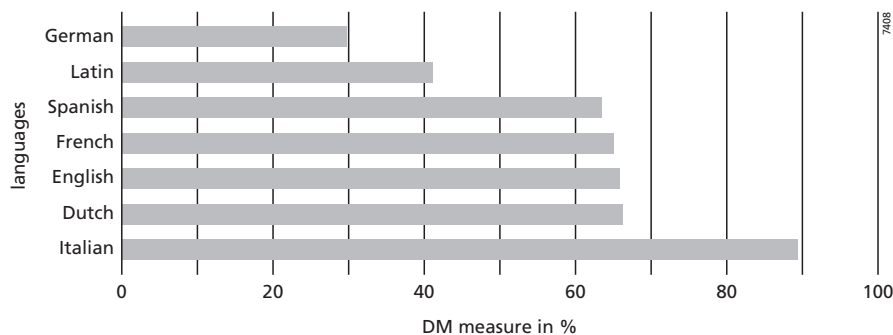


Figure 5.4 Merged results over 10 map texts for the category. Carto-bibliographical Names.

This is the category where the concept denoted by the Carto-bibliographical Name was less ambiguous than in the other two word categories, so that there was no room for any kind of subjectivity in the DM judgment.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the DM values found here are considerably higher than in the previous category and also higher than in the last category to be discussed below.

The high DM value of Italian names as compared to all the others is the result of the phonotactic structure of Italian, which favours word-final vowels. In our case, this means that all authors whose name ended in a consonant in Italian received a final -o, which led to a high DM and low transparency.

But the high overall level of Difference Measures, or low transparency, seems in all probability to be due to two causes:

(1) the strict way of measuring differences whenever a word form of a name is not entirely the same as the name it is compared with in a different language and

(2) the fact that proper names of carto-bibliographic sources mentioned in the text are treated in a way which is similar to what happens with place names. Even if they all refer to an unambiguous concept or person, map texts (in contrast to text on the map itself) show great textual variation depending on the language in question.

In the same way as place names show exonyms (Parijs rather than Paris in Dutch texts) in our map texts, proper names show 'exonames' like John, Giovanni, João, Jan, Johann, Jean etc. which all contribute to a high DM or a low transparency in the scoring method used for this category of words. If we had given priority to derivation as a scoring measure, as we did in the other two categories, the DM values obtained would have been considerably lower. If we had applied the scoring method of semantic identity and derivation in the same way as was done for the other two categories, the proper names discussed here would have shown no differences at all. This was precisely the reason for using a different yardstick here.

Let us now turn to the second category, namely Geographical Names and Concepts.

Table 5.52 Merged DM results over 10 map texts for the word category Geographical Names and Concepts, expressed in percentages.

Map text number DM	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM average
Africa, Ort8	44	20	48	25	14	27	50	52	35%.
Scotland, Ort18	33	15	39	25	32	47	45	21	32.1%
Low Countries, Ort58		25	50	75	100	100	100	100	78.6%
Como etc. Ort129	0	0	100	0	0	0	100	0	25%
Hungary, Ort150	67	11	67	22	22	44	50	67	35%
Nordic Regions, Ort160	50	13	50	13	25	50	75	50	32.6%
Russia, Ort162	60	13	88	13	21	50	83	67	49.4%
East Indies, Ort166	43	22	18	33	33	50	20	20	29.9%
Ancient Sicily, Ort211	50	20	40		40	60		67	46.1
Ancient Greece, Ort215	0	0	40		50	20		80	31.7
DM average	38.6%	13.9%	54%	22.9%	33.7%	44.8%	65.4%	52.4%	40.3%

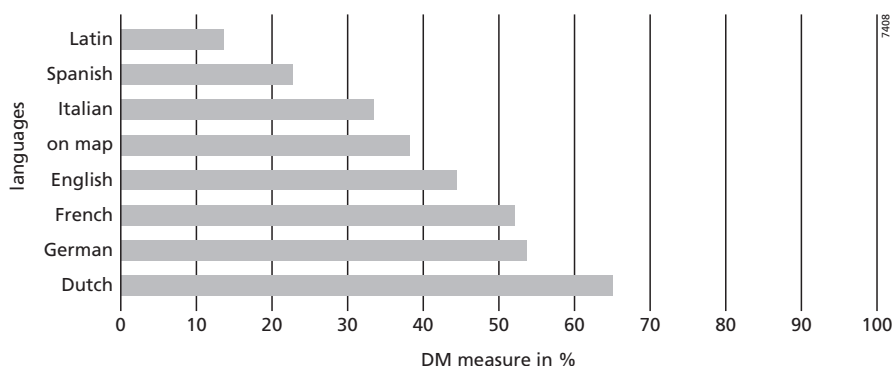


Figure 5.5 Merged results over 10 map texts for the word category Geographical Names and Concepts.

Merged over all maptexts, we obtain figure 5.5, presented in increasing DM values as given below.

5.11.2 Discussion of the word category Geographical Names

As regards the manner in which scoring has been applied to this category, derivation is the main criterion, since the meaning of these terms leaves little uncertainty regarding the semantic content of words and expressions in this word category. The only real 'mistake' found in this category is that in the English edition 'Livonia' has been translated as 'Lithuania'.

An average Difference Measure of 40% which can also be called a Similarity Measure of 60% indicates that this word category of geographical names and concepts shows a fair amount of overall transparency, considering that geographical names and concepts in scholarly and vernacular texts have been merged wherever possible in our analysis. Although place names in map texts are mainly presented in the form of exonyms, these figures indicate considerable agreement. This agreement, which may also be regarded as similarity or transparency is closest for Latin, Spanish and Italian texts. French, German and Dutch show the highest Difference Measure.

The fact that place names as they occur on the map itself are invariably toponyms, whereas the texts mostly contain exonyms adds to the difference measure found. The very high Difference Measure obtained for the Low Countries map text Ort58, (DM = 78.6) as compared to the other map texts is a direct consequence of the large number of exonyms listed at the end of the scholarly version of the texts which is found for this map only, and not for any of the other map texts analysed here. We also see that the Latin editions across the 10 map texts analysed have by far the lowest DM, reflecting the prominent and exemplary role of Latin among the various languages of the map texts. Of the other Romance languages Spanish and Italian also score below average in their DM, reflecting their proximity to Latin. But the French editions (which only contain vernacular texts) have a DM above average of 52.4% which resembles that of the other vernacular texts namely the Dutch ones, which have an even higher DM of 65.4%. Apparently, the nature of the texts (scholarly vs. vernacular) has a stronger effect on dissimilarity on these two languages than the fact that these texts belong to different language families. We will come back to this below.

5.11.3 Discussion of the word category Content Words

The chances that words and concepts as contained in ordinary Content Words deviate, has a variety of causes which do not apply to the other word categories. Perfect synonyms do not exist within languages, but neither do they exist across languages. It has been mentioned above that as many as five translators were involved for the seven languages analysed here. Chances that they felt a need for 'their' language to deviate are lower for proper names and geographical names than for concepts expressed in content words. As noted in the introduction to this analysis, many words may not have a proper counterpart in a different language. Alternatively, the translator may not be fully aware of subtle semantic differences between words in the source language and the target language. Cultural aspects might have led to confusion if a more literal translation had been chosen. The semantic range of a source word may be undesirable when trying to find a counterpart in the target language, leading to semantic fuzziness. This fuzziness is a direct consequence of the fact that some words and concepts do not have the same cultural significance in different languages.

For example, Latin *nobiles* (Ort162.2) is translated into German as *denen vom Adel*, in Spanish as *nobles*, in Italian as *nobili*, in English as *Noblemen*, but in Dutch as *rijcke lieden*. It is clear that

Table 5.53 Merged results of DM-values calculated above over 10 map texts for the word category Content Words, presented as percentages.

Map text number DM	On map	Latin	German	Spanish	Italian	English	Dutch	French	DM average
Africa, Ort8		50	33	100	0	0	33	67	40.4%
Scotland, Ort18		38	89	28	27	59	69	69	54.1%
Low Countries, Ort58		44	89	44	56	67	80	40	60.0%
Como etc. Ort129		33	78	29	14	71	86	60	53.0%
Hungary, Ort150		50	57	25	25	75	50	67	49.9%
Nordic Regions, Ort160		42	72	58	50	58	67	89	62.3%
Russia, Ort162		23	77	23	15	38	69	50	42.1%
East Indies, Ort166		67	73	67	56	89	0	67	59.9%
Ancient Sicily, Ort211		40	70		33	60		30	46.6%
Ancient Greece, Ort215		78	100		78	100		100	91.2%
DM average		46.5%	73.8%	46.8%	35.4%	61.7%	56.8%	63.9%	51.2%

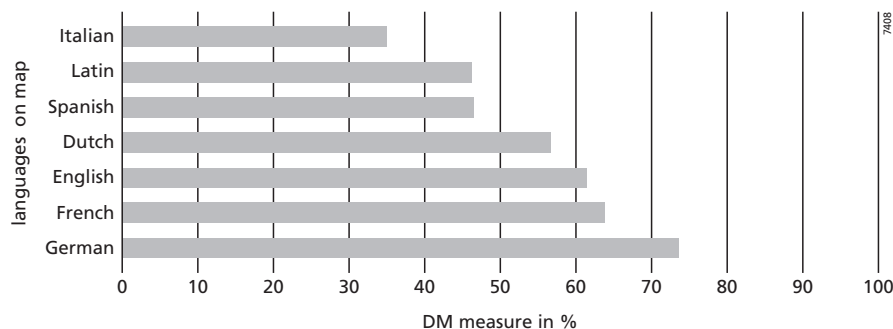


Figure 5.6 Merged results over 10 map texts for the word category Content Words.

the four concepts *nobiles* show no semantic differentiation. The German *denen vom Adel* differs from the concept *noble* since the word *Adel* refers to the formal status of gentry as opposed to *common people*. The Dutch translation of *nobiles* as *rijcke lieden* reflects the political situation in which most European countries of Ortelius' time were kingdoms, with kings and noblemen at the head of state. However, the Netherlands at this time, though formally still a kingdom, was turning into a republic, without kings and retinue. The closest Dutch equivalent to the foreign concept 'nobility' was therefore *rich merchants*, who had a political function in society that was essentially equivalent to the function of royalty and their retinue in foreign countries. Rather than translating Latin *nobiles* with Dutch *adel* as is the case in German, the translator, who in the case of Dutch texts was Ortelius himself, opted for the functional equivalent *rich merchants*. *Rijcke lieden* is not an erroneous literal translation of the word *nobiles* but rather an excellent functional translation, keeping in mind the incomparability of the concept *noble* in Dutch as compared with the same concept in countries surrounding the Netherlands. The Dutch translation of *rijcke lieden* for Latin *nobiles* is therefore functionally correct, but semantically incorrect. In Nida's terminology with which we opened the discussion on transparency of translations, Ortelius' translation aims at functional equivalence.

All these factors tend to lead to relatively high Difference Measures. Therefore, it is understandable that as a category, we find the overall DM around 50% as we do here.

From a methodological point of view, it is not possible, let alone meaningful to compare the difference measures obtained for our three word categories, nor to do a statistical analysis on the DM-results obtained. As explained, each of the three word categories is scored in terms of DM along different criteria. Moreover, each DM obtained is based on a varying amount of data: at least 2 and at most 8 words. This variation is not reflected in the DM obtained. Also, some groups of words scored as 'different' and therefore underlined in our tables, turn out to have subgroupings of their own which have not been taken into account to keep further complexities in the scoring to a minimum. Let us therefore have a final look at the data themselves as presented in our tables to see what we have learned about the treatment of the wordgroups selected over the language editions in which they appear.

5.12 Conclusions

5.12.1 Category 1. Carto-Bibliographical names

We have seen in the map texts and in our selection of them presented above in tables that in contrast to present day usage it was common in Ortelius' time (and long before that) to translate names. If any meaning could be attached to a name, this meaning would be translated. Gerard Cramer or Kremer [merchant] is best known as Mercator. Ortelius preferably called his beloved nephew Jacob Cools [meaning: coal] in his letters to him by the name of Carbonius. If no meaning could be attached to a name, as in the case of Ortelius' own name Ortels, it would be latinised by adding the most likely Latin morpheme, resulting in the name Ortelius.

Common first names appear in predictable but rather different guises as in the following series:

(Latin) Ioannes, (German) Johann, Hans, (Spanish) João, (Italian) Giovanni, (English) John, (Dutch) Johannes, Johan, Jan (French) Jean.

(Latin) Petrus, (German) Peter, (Spanish) Pedro, (Italian) Pietro, (English) Peter, Pete (Dutch) Peter, Pieter, Piet (French) Pierre.

Many names that have been scored as being different between languages received this score because of this translation-of-names phenomenon. We have therefore named them 'exonames' in parallel with placenames appearing as exonyms. These exonames lead to reduction of transparency between the map texts in different languages.

5.12.2 Category 2. Cartographic Names and Concepts

Cartographic names to which a meaning can be attached are translated in the map texts like proper names. Particularly in the scholarly text versions, we find examples like Bois-le-Duc for's Hertogenbosch, Herbipolis for Würzburg, Quinqueecclesiæ for Fünfkirchen and so on.

The scholarly map text of the Germania Inferior map (Ort58) provides numerous examples of this nature. If a place name has no recognisable meaning, it will often be revised to conform to the phonological constraints of the language into which it is translated, or it adopts the sound of its example (e.g. Dutch St. Truiden becomes Spanish Centron). Ortelius was very much aware that this practice can lead to confusion on the part of the reader, who may confuse Reims with Roermond. To avoid such confusion, toponyms could be used instead, as is indeed the case on the maps themselves, which had to serve for all language editions, and which even now is not gaining general acceptance, as in the place name Beijing for which the former Peking still persists. Yet, rather than changing the rule to use exonyms for place names in map texts, which would go against practice current at the time, Ortelius decided to provide lists with 'translations' or language-specific renderings of place names at the end of his map texts, as noted before. This is not only the case for the Germania Inferior map text, but for numerous other texts as well.

For cartographic content words, in contrast to place names, we find a division which often but not always follows the language families to which the translation in question belongs: Nord-Noord-North for Germanic languages. Settentrione, septentrion, septentrio for Romance languages and their ancestor Latin. Romance and Latin Occidens, Occidente, is West in the Germanic languages. French takes an intermediate position with Nord and Ouest or Occident. Latin flumen groups with Italian fiume and German Fluss. Spanish rio, English river, French rivière, and Dutch rivier show that etymology does not necessarily reflect linguistic proximity of descent of the language as a whole. In this respect, geographical names and concepts occupy an intermediate position between category 1, proper names and category 3, content words.

5.12.3 Category 3. Content words

Here we noticed that a literal translation may be wrong when the concept to be translated receives different cultural or political acceptance depending on the language into which the translation is made. When we look at the concept of bigamy, Latin *bigamus*, translated into modern English as *twice married*, we find (German) *dass einer zwei weiber nemme*, (Spanish) *Segundo casamiento*, (Italian) *rimaritarsi*, (English) *bigamy*, (Dutch) *anderwerf trouwet*, (French) *remarier*. The Latin, Spanish, Italian, Dutch and French words strongly suggest a consecutive action, best translated as: *remarry*. German strongly suggests a parallel action, which is also the connotation of the modern word bigamy: to have two wives (or husbands) simultaneously. It may well be argued that those cultures which forbid bigamy need a translation of Latin *bigamus* which conforms with whatever is allowed or accepted in the culture into which this word is translated.

Causes for 'untranslatability' may also have more mundane reasons. Content words like a sort of fish or bird or corn or coal may be untranslatable when the region where the target language is spoken does not know that particular concept. Since for instance the use of coal is just beginning to be developed in the southern Low Countries and England, but nowhere else in Ortelius' time, he explains in map texts dealing with this substance what coal is, what its useful properties are and who can use it where. But if the novelty of a concept is less obvious, it is the translators task to find a near-equivalent.

As an overall conclusion it seems warranted to say that most translations analysed here are a fair approach to Ortelius' original scholarly Latin or vernacular Dutch example in terms of preserving meaning, if not form. That the preservation of form has been somewhat neglected in these translations may be due to the lack of 16th century spelling conventions for all languages except to some extent Latin as mentioned above, the high variability of exonyms, and an equally high variability in personal names or 'exonames', making up the majority of words and expressions analysed.

A considerable amount of form and content information has been lost in the translations we have analysed here. This may be explained by the low status of the translator in early Renaissance times. Ortelius mentions about 1300 carto-bibliographic sources in the combined map texts *on verso* of his maps, but nowhere in these texts or in any other text material occurring in his atlases do we find any reference to a translator. Translation was considered a craft, like typesetting, rather than an art or a science and for this reason there was no need to refer to the translator. We have argued before that it is certain that Ortelius wrote the Latin, Dutch and French *on verso* texts. The Spanish monk Balthasar Vincentius has been identified as the translator of the 1588 Spanish edition through the book-keeping records of Plantin, who financed this edition. Whether he also translated texts *on verso* of later Spanish editions (1602, 1609/1612/1641) is not known. The English 1606 *Theatrum* mentions a certain W.B. as its translator, who on the basis of inventive research by Skelton, 1968, has been identified as the English orientalist William Bedwell. The translator of the German vernacular texts (1572/1573) and the translator of all later, scholarly texts of German editions has not been identified, but clearly, this translator was a native speaker of German without much geographical knowledge, as noted before. The translator of the scholarly texts into Italian, Pigafetta, announces his intention to write a translation of the map texts in Italian in a letter he wrote to Ortelius as early as 1591, (Hessels, 1887, letter 200, p. 481). Pigafetta died in 1604, four years before his Italian translation was published, and was therefore bereft of the opportunity to do a final piece of text editing and correcting. This scanty information concerning Ortelius' translators is in sharp contrast with the wealth of information he provides about his carto-bibliographic sources. This indicates that the translator of a text was regarded as largely or totally irrelevant in comparison to the importance of the author of that text.

Notes

- 1 Cf. for instance Moreland and Bannister, 1983, p. 98-100.
- 2 Exonyms are defined (see also chapter 1) as place names that assume a different form when used in a different language than that spoken in the place referred to.

- 3 Nida, 1964, pp. 165-176, and particularly 'Areas of tension between Formal-Equivalence and Dynamic-Equivalence', pp. 171-176.
- 4 For detailed information on the linguistic development of Indo-European into European languages, see e.g. Bynon, 1977, Lehmann, 1967, Lockwood 1972 & Schmalstieg, 1980.

6 Orteliu's sources

6.1 Introduction

A characteristic of Orteliu as a scholar is that he is the first geographer to give a full account of his sources. He does this in a consequent and painstakingly precise manner, not only in his constantly updated *Catalogus Auctorum* which concerns his map sources, but equally precise in his *Synonymia* (1578) and its successors *Thesaurus Geographicus* (1587 & 1596), all of them books listing synonyms of place names, and finally also emphatically and profusely, as we have seen, in his map texts. Koeman, 1964, p. 13 has called this feature unique for his time which is certainly true when comparing Orteliu's cartographic and bibliographic sources to earlier, contemporary or later cartographers.

As noted in chapter 1, Orteliu's cartographical sources have been studied in great detail, particularly by two scholars viz. Peter Meurer, 1991, and William Karrow, 1993, who independently published a book on this subject. There is no need to try and improve on their work to identify cartographic sources. Therefore we will focus in this chapter on Orteliu's bibliographical sources as mentioned in the texts *on verso* of his 10 atlas maps analysed in this study. We agree fully with Koeman that Orteliu's *Theatrum* is the first geographical publication mentioning bibliographical sources for his texts. However, it is not unique when we also consider disciplines outside cartography: the very first author to provide references to bibliographical sources for scholarly publications was the renaissance physician, naturalist and botanist Conrad Gesner (1516-1566). Gesner is mentioned by Orteliu as a source in his *Synonymia* (1578). Orteliu probably also used his 'Historia Animalium' which was published in Zürich in 1551-1558. Not only does Gesner mention the sources for his text, he also invited 63 of his correspondents, mostly physicians, medical students and apothecaries to contribute information to his 'Historia'. They are listed in that publication, most of them including their profession. One of his correspondents is the historian and cartographer Aegidius Tschudi, whose Switzerland map Orteliu used in all editions of his *Theatrum*. It is not surprising that this new tradition of providing bibliographical sources was continued by Orteliu's contemporary and friend Carolus Clusius (1526-1609)², a Flemish-born botanist of Arras who studied at Montpellier. Clusius was the founder of the *Hortus Academicus* in Leiden where he became a professor in 1594. His first publication was a translation of Rembert Dodoens's *Herbal*, published in Antwerp in 1557 by Van der Loë. His 1576 Iberian flora, *Rariorum aliquot stirpium per Hispanias observatarum historia* initiated his fruitful collaboration with Plantin's press in Antwerp which enabled him to ornament his texts with elaborate engravings. Clusius published two major original works: his *Rariorum plantarum historia* (1601) is the first record for approximately 100 new species and his *Exoticorum libri decem* (1605) is an important work on exotic flora, both still often consulted. His Spanish *Flora* (1576) is one of the earliest known books on Spanish plants. There is no doubt that Orteliu possessed his writings³, that they closely cooperated on the design of Clusius' six-sheet wall map of Spain

(1571), cf. Schilder, 1998, p. 116–123, and that he was influenced by this highly learned friend concerning his mentioning of sources.

Another of Ortelius' close friends who included references in his scholarly writings was Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), humanist, philologist, historian and philosopher⁴. The publication of his *Variarum Lectionum Libri Tres* (1567) by Plantin, where he most probably first met Ortelius, led to his appointment as Latin secretary in Rome. Lipsius remained there for two years, devoting his spare time to the study of the Latin classics, collecting inscriptions and examining Vatican manuscripts. In 1574 Plantin published Lipsius' first Tacitus edition. A second volume of miscellaneous criticism, *Antiquarum Lectionum Libri Quinque* (1575), was published after his return from Rome. In 1570 he travelled through Burgundy, Germany, Austria, and Bohemia, and was engaged for more than a year as teacher at the University of Jena. He then returned to Leuven, but was soon driven by the civil war to Antwerp, where in 1579 he received a call to join the newly founded University of Leiden where he was appointed professor of history and where he remained for eleven years, the period of his greatest productivity. It was now that he prepared his edition of Seneca, perfected, in successive editions, his edition of Tacitus and brought out a series of other works, some of pure scholarship, others collections from classical authors, others again of general interest. In 1590 he went to Mainz, where he was reconciled to the Catholic church, to which he had been increasingly critical in his Leiden years. Finally he settled at Leuven as professor of Latin in the Collegium Buslidianum. In his writings he followed the humanist adage *ad fontes*, back to the sources, and in most of his writings, he gives references, which must have influenced his friend Ortelius, whom he met whenever he could. There was also an intensive correspondence between the two and the six letters from Lipsius to Ortelius that are presented in Hessels' demonstrate the cordial relationship between them. In total, 39 letters between Ortelius and Lipsius have survived. In 1577 Lipsius writes in his *Epistolicae Quaestiones* Epistula 4.4 as a comment on Ortelius' *Theatrum*: "I have seen your *Theatrum*, Ortelius, and do you want to know my honest opinion? I wonder if anyone's work has brought people more benefit than this, and that over a long time. No more endless piles of loose maps. One book has given us kingdoms, provinces, cities, yes, the entire world, thanks to you". In the same letter, Lipsius also expresses the hope that Ortelius will render other valuable services, and will also provide the names of cities and rivers in antiquity, especially those from Livius in Spain, most of which are still unidentified⁶. Lipsius' contribution to Ortelius' *Liber Amicorum* consists of the following text: "Thanks to her old customs and heroes, Rome will continue to stand. Ennius [Lipsius' motto]. For you, Abraham Ortelius, radiant light, illuminating not only your city, but the entire world, with your everlasting heritage, have I, Justus Lipsius, written these words as a token of our holy and imperishable friendship. Leiden, August 10, 1579. I consider those to be wise, who drink wines that have aged, and who enjoy to read ancient writings. The Muses contribute to a good reputation". Lipsius visited Ortelius (and Plantin) regularly, particularly after he had moved to Leuven, and in a letter to Ortelius⁷ he writes: "If I lived closer to you, your library and you yourself could provide me great services!" In numerous places⁸ Ortelius asks Lipsius about his apparently delicate health, which indicates a very personal interest. All this shows that Ortelius, self-taught, and Lipsius, coveted as a professor by many European universities, were on an equal footing as regards their scholarly interests, frequently exchanged all kinds of information, and Lipsius' habit of mentioning sources when writing about ancient times must have exercised his influence on Ortelius. Yet, since the two first met about nine years after the first appearance of the *Theatrum* with its *Catalogus Auctorum*, Lipsius must have confirmed

Ortelius' habit of mentioning his sources, but he certainly did not initiate it. If Ortelius did not independently develop the habit of mentioning sources in his scholarly writings, he must have been inspired by his contemporary naturalist and map maker Clusius and the older naturalist Gesner.

6.2 Ortelius' library

Next to discussions and correspondence with other scientists, what is needed most of all for a scholar is the availability of books. Since Ortelius was active in the book trade as well as the map trade from an early age onwards, he was in an excellent position to obtain, possess and collect books for his own scholarly purposes as well. He also had a considerable amount of manuscripts, as evidenced by remarks in map texts that he had disagreements with others concerning the reading of obscure illegible parts. After his death, his library went to his nephew Colius, who later donated at least part of it, including his *Liber Amicorum* and his correspondence of 400 letters, to the Cambridge University Library, Pembroke College⁹. Since Ortelius signed his books, and often wrote comments in them in his distinctive handwriting, a thorough search of the classical, medieval and renaissance holdings of this university library may turn out to contain a considerable part of Ortelius' library.

From the inventory of authors and sources that he mentions in his map texts, a list can be compiled which would be an excellent instrument to reconstruct Ortelius' library as it was at the time of his death. We can be certain that Ortelius owned all or almost all the approximately 2000 books¹⁰ which he mentions in his map texts and his *Synonymia* and *Thesauri*. When he learns about the existence of an interesting book without having the chance to acquire it, he gives clear evidence of his frustration, as appears from the following quote from the map text of Ancient Germany (Ort199/200):

199.43-44. But so far we are in lack of all these books by Livius [referring to book 104 of Livius' *Epitome*], and Plinius [referring to Plinius Secundus' 20 books on Germany which are no longer extant]. Yet, there are some men without any reputation who brag that they have these books at their disposal, and allow them to remain hidden, and resist the worms, which causes great harm and damage to science and society.

In a similar vein a quote from the text on the Daphne map, (Ort232.27.):

232.27. About this *Daphne*, I would to God [wish to see] that work by *Protagorides* which he wrote about Daphnian Plays, Feasts and Assemblies which *Athenæus* refers to in his fourth book. [I also wish that] the oration written by *Libianus* the Sophist, which *Iulianus* refers to in his epistles, and highly recommends, was still extant.

These remarks again express Ortelius' deep frustration about some books he knows to exist or to have existed to which he has no access. The fact that these are the only texts in the entire *Theatrum* text corpus with complaints of this nature seems to indicate that the large majority of the books he refers to in his map texts were in fact in his possession. As noted, he was an avid

buyer of books throughout his life, both for study and reference. In a letter dated January 1587 to his beloved nephew Jacob Cools¹¹, he writes:

If you were with me, you would have plenty of books, as my library is well supplied. And as regards the quantity and selection of my coins, I may vie with anyone in this country. On books and coins, I believe I have spent more than 2000 crowns.

This amounts to a staggering 5000 florins, an amount of money sufficient at the time to buy the kind of library which comprises thousands of books. Ortelius also sold books to the same buyers who bought his *Theatrum* atlas and loose sheet maps, as is clear from the fact that he bought more than one copy of most of his books as the records of Plantin indicate¹².

As just noted, next to books Ortelius also possessed a fine collection of manuscripts, as is apparent from his frequent remarks that different manuscripts of the same text have different readings, as is customary for manuscripts which were frequently copied by someone with little understanding of what he was copying. The library that Ortelius built in the course of his life must have been the largest private library not only of Antwerp, but conceivably of North-Western Europe. In the course of his life, Ortelius moved to successively larger premises to contain this library, next to other objects constituting his 'museum'. We just noted that one of the reasons why Lipsius was happy to be invited to Ortelius' house consisted of the possibility to make use of his library, apparently much better than what Lipsius could find at the university of Leiden.

What is the meaning of mentioning a reference in a scholarly or scientific text? It allows the reader to check whether the quote which is given in that text is indeed the formulation and intention expressed by the author in the text quoted. References form the backbone of any scientific publication.

6.3 List of authors and references to them, and other names in the 10 map texts analysed

We will now present a list of all the references occurring in the 10 map texts discussed in this study as a series of different lemmas, referring to different sources. Each lemma in this list will consist of the following characteristics:

- 1 **Name:** The name of the author mentioned in the map text. The spelling of this name may vary, depending on whether the Latinised or the local variant of the name is used in the map text. As we saw in the previous chapter, 'exonames' [Joannes, Johann, John, Giovanni etc.] are the rule, not the exception at this time. Further, we may find Latin 'Pinetus' or French 'Dupinet' referring to the same person. Local names will be used for ordering the names alphabetically, and the main variants in names will also be given. A cross-reference at 'Pinetus' will refer to the main lemma 'Dupinet'. Local names will not be used for alphabetical ordering if the author in question is better known by his Latin name, e.g. the name 'Mercator' is preferred above 'Kremer' as a lemma. The order of names, if there is more than one name for the author, may also vary. Thus 'Diodorus Siculus' may be addressed

as 'Diodorus' or as 'Siculus' or as 'Diodorus Siculus' These various forms have been cross-referenced. Some sources are known by two entirely different names: 'Volaterranus' is also known as 'Maffei'. 'Piccolomini' is also addressed as 'Æneas Sylvius' or as 'pope Pius the Second'. The most frequently occurring name will be used for the lemma. Cross-references will guide the reader to the lemma where this author is discussed. To some extent the custom introduced by Karrow, 1993¹³ will be followed, who for Ortelius' cartographic sources gives all name forms that occur in the various sources referring to this person. Here the presentation of different names for the same person will be restricted to the most common variants of the name of an author referred to in the map texts. Some names, e.g. Homerus, Aristoteles, Plinius etc. have been spelled in their international form rather than as Homer, Aristotle or Pliny to increase their recognizability.

- 2 **Dates:** The name of an author will be followed by dates of birth and death or by a specification of the time when this author flourished. Sources providing information on authors often disagree. In such a case, dates of birth and death may be preceded by c. for circa or by abt. for about. Sometimes, there is only information in which century a writer lived, or not even that.
- 3 **Qualification by Ortelius:** If available, a qualifying characterisation about this author as given by Ortelius will be presented in quotation marks. Thus, both Strabo and Ptolemaeus are called 'prince of geography'.
- 4 **Biography:** A mini-biography in a few lines, (the amount of text depending on the importance of the author, frequency of quotations and availability), specifying from which country and possibly city the author came, where he went, for whom he worked, what profession he had and with whom he cooperated in producing his writings.
- 5 **Books:** The name and date of appearance of his books or works will be given as far as relevant for our present purpose, followed by a specification of the map texts in which a quotation is given of this work. This will also include references to occurrences of map texts not analysed in this study but occurring in other map texts not discussed here, so that we get an impression how often this book is referred to in the map texts as a whole. We will mainly or only discuss books of relevance for our present analysis. Some book titles have been translated.

If an author is only known through one major work, as is for instance the case for Plinius the Elder or Maior whose 'Naturalis Historia'¹⁴ is his sole surviving work, this work is often not mentioned by name. Greek titles will not be presented in Greek font, but will be Latinised.

- 6 **Proximity and familiarity of the author to Ortelius:** Ortelius wrote only one author index of carto-bibliographical sources (next to his *Catalogus Auctorum* which is included in all scholarly versions of his *Theatrum*), namely for his *Synonymia Geographica* subtitled *Opus non tantum Geographis, sed etiam Historiae & poëseos studiosis vtile et necessarium*. [Geographical synonyms, a work, useful and necessary not only for geographers, but also for those studying history or poetry]. If an author in our list also occurs in the *Synonymia Geographica*, this will be mentioned. If a contemporary author was close enough to Ortelius to feature in his *Album Amicorum*¹⁵, this will also be mentioned. Finally, if an author mentioned in any of our 10 map texts occurs in the letters to and from Ortelius¹⁶, this will also be mentioned. These data together will convey information about the proximity in physical and scholarly terms between Ortelius and the authors he quotes.

- 7 **Specific reference location in map text:** The precise location of the reference in the map texts in terms of map number and finally the paragraph number of the 10 different map texts of this study text in which this author is mentioned in a different font, identifying on verso map text and paragraph number.

A considerable number of authors can easily be identified; other authors are more elusive, and a few authors cannot be identified with any certainty at all. Next to personal help¹⁷, major works consulted for the classics were the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford University Press 1999) and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford University Press 2000) to identify classical authors. Gerbrandy¹⁸ also proved to be a useful source of information. For the medieval authors, the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*¹⁹, and *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*²⁰ were used. For renaissance authors the *Oxford Dictionary of the Renaissance*²¹ and *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*²² were consulted. Further, the *Karlsruhe Virtueller Katalog*²³ with its vast holdings could be consulted on the internet. The internet was also used to find other sources if the provider of information seemed reliable, e.g. the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Auction catalogues of the major auction houses such as Sotheby's, Christie's, Bonhams and personal assistance from Reiss & Sohn yielded relevant information as well.

The list that now follows does not aim at improving on any of the bibliographical sources just mentioned, but merely intends to give the reader a succinct impression which authors and which books Ortelius consulted when writing his map texts.

6.4 List of authors mentioned in the 10 map texts analysed

Aldroando, Ulysses (1522-1607) of Bologna, Italy was an archeologist who published 'Le Antichità della città di Roma' Venice 1556, mainly dealing with statues from antiquity. He did this with the help of Maurus Lucius.

129.17

Alvarez, Francesco (1465-1541) of Coimbra, Portugal, was an explorer who visited Aethiopia and wrote about his experiences in 'Travels' (Ort175). He is also mentioned in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578)

8.15

Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330-395) from Antiochia wrote a history of Rome called 'Res gestæ' (Ort197,198) in 31 books of which 13 were lost, published in Rome in 1474. It was intended to be a sequel to Tacitus' 'Annales', starting at the death of Domitianus and ending with the defeat of the Romans by the Goths at Adrianople in 378. This publication was rediscovered by Poggio Braccolini and published by Frobenius in Basel 1533, by Accorso in Augsburg, also in 1533, and by Gelenius in Basel. This history is quoted by Petrus Pithæus in his 'Adversaria' (Ort196). Ammianus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

215.2

Antigonius (third century B.C.) of Megasthenes wrote 'De Mirabilibus' [About Wonders] (Ort203,211,224), and quotes Myrsilius (Ort216).

211.12; : Bk.1 De Mirabilibus 211.12

Apuleius, Madaurensis Lucius (born c. 123 A.D.), Roman Rhetorist from Madaurus, Numidia, was strongly influenced by Plato, and wrote a philosophical treatise 'De Mundo' [About the World] (Ort1,2,3) which was very popular in the 16th century, although of little significance. He also wrote 'Florida', excerpts from his orations. Ortelius refers to these works (Ort166.8). Also 'Apologies' (Ort193), 'De Deo Socratis' (Ort231) and 'Metamorphoses' (Lyon 1553) containing 'The Golden Ass' (Ort218,224). Editions of his work were published and commented on by Bonaventura Vulcanius, Jos. Scaliger and Janus Gruterus. Apuleius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Bk.1 Floridorum 166.8

Aristoteles (384–322 B.C.) Greek encyclopaedic writer and tutor to Alexander the Great, was much admired by humanists in the Renaissance. His complete works were translated into Latin by Manutius and supervised and commented upon by Desiderius Erasmus in 1531. Cochlæus published his 'Meteorology' (Ort182,183,196,213) with comments in Nurnberg in 1512. Julius Cæsar Scaliger, father of the well known philologist Jos. Scaliger has written a Commentary on the books about plants by Aristoteles which was published in Leiden in 1556. The Spanish Count Laguna translated Aristoteles' 'Peri Kosmou', into Latin as 'De Mundo' (Ort1,2,3,189) and published this in Alcala, Spain, in 1538. He also wrote 'Miracles of Nature' (Ort142,196,210), a 'Letter to Alexander the Great' (Ort6, 190, 192), 'On living creatures' (Ort193), and 'De Admirandis' [About Admirable Matters] (Ort12, 196,203,206,209,210,211,226). Further 'Pollux' (Ort208), 'Problems' (Ort213), and 'Politics' (Ort193,196,197,199,200). Modern scholarship has established that 'Peri Kosmou' or 'De Mundo' and 'Pollux' have not been written by Aristoteles. Aristoteles is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

De Admiranda 211.6

Arrianus Flavius (born abt. 85 A.D.) was a Greek historian from Nicomedia who became a successful officer in the Roman army and who later was appointed consul and legate in Cappadocia. He retired to Athens, where he was archon in 145/146. He wrote an 'Anabasis' of Alexander the Great, the last book of which is called 'Indike' later printed as 'Arriani Flavii et Hannonis Periplus' (Ort8,12,224), published in Basel in 1553. Also: 'Arriani Flavii: Ponti Euxini et Maris Erythræi Periplus' published and commented on by Stuckius (Ort212,213), Geneva 1577. Ramusio refers to Arrianus' 'Lettera intorno al Mare Maggiore' and 'Nearcho, navigazione in quale scritta Arriano'. He also wrote a book 'On Germany' (Ort104) and 'Expeditionis Alexandris libri septem et historia indica' (1497) or 'Life of Alexander' (Ort166). Arrianus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

8.14, 215.9; : Life of Alexander 166.8

Athenæus (about 200 A.D.) of Naucratis, Egypt, wrote 'Deipnosophistai' [men learned in the arts of banquets] (printed in Lyon, Venice, Basel, Paris, 1556 and later), (Ort193,203,214,216,217,224), the banquet being the forum of 23 learned men, some with the names of real persons such as Galenus and Ulpianus, to discuss philosophy, literature, law, medicine and other disciplines. It also contains much practical detail relating to ancient food, wine, and dining customs, with many anecdotes. In 'Deipnosophistai' Athenæus quotes Polybius (Ort12), Posidonius (Ort203) and Timon (Ort208,214,216,224). This work is usually referred to by Ortelius as 'Deipnosophiston'. Athenæus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.12, 215.2

Barlaam is not an author but part of a book title Barlaam & Josaphat (7th century A.D.) , a book of unknown authorship. It was a famous spiritual guide throughout the Middle Ages, expressing an apology of Christian life. It also contains a narration about Ethiopia about which Ortelius indicates that there is a copy of it in the Augustan library (Ort8).

8.14

Barros, João de or Ioannes Barrius (1496-1570) is the most important Portuguese historian of the age of discoveries. He wrote 'De Asia Decadae 1-2' (Ort1,2,3,26,164,166,177), published in Lisbon, Portugal 1552-1563 and 'Cosmae Indopleutes' (Ort166). He seems also to have written a book about Africa (Ort8). Barros is mentioned in Hessels 19:5-7 (1567), a letter by Postel to Ortelius.

Asian Decades 166.8, 166.10; : Africa 8.15

Barthema, Luigi, or Varthema, Luigi, also Ludovicus Vartomannus, (c. 1470-1517), is one of the most important Italian explorers. He travelled through Ethiopia, Egypt, Arabia, Syria and India. His travel reports were translated into Latin by Archangelo Medrignano and published in Rome in 1510 in Italian. A Latin translation appeared in Milan in 1511 as 'Ludovicus Vartomani Novum Itinerarium Æthiopiæ, Ægypti, utriusque Arabiæ, Persiæ, Siriæ et Indiæ intra et extra Gangem'. It was also published in Italian by Ramusio in 1517 (Venice). Barthema was translated into many languages.

166.8.

Becanus, Ioannes Goropius (1518-1572) or Jan van Gorp of the Netherlands was a physician with linguistic interests who wrote 'Origines Antwerpianæ Sive Cimmericorum Becceselana libri IX, in quibus: Atvatica, Gigantomachia, Niloscopium, Cronia, Indo-Scythica, Saxsonica, Goto-Danica, Amazonica, Venetica et Hyperborea' [on the origin of people, 9 books, in which etc.], (Ort1,2,3,56,58,65,66,115,174,189), published by Plantin at his own expense in 1569. Also posthumously 'Opera hactenus in lucem non edita, nempe Hermathena, Hieroglyphica, Vertumnus, Gallica, Francica, Hispanica, Antwerpen' (Ort194). Ortelius holds him in high esteem, which as far as Goropius' linguistic observations are concerned was totally unfounded. Becanus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He contributed to Ortelius' 'Album Amicorum'. Goropius is mentioned in Hessels: Monau to Ortelius §89:13 (1579), Ortelius to Colius §164:15 (1589), Dionysius de Villers to Ortelius §215.1,3,7 (1592).

Becceselanis 58.7

Beda Venerabilis, the venerable Bede (673-735) was a Benedict clergyman who wrote 'Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum', an Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical History much quoted by later British historians, which first appeared in print in Strassbourg, 1475. It is the most important work of one of the greatest English historians and gives an account of Christianity in England from its beginnings to Bede's own days, scrupulously citing earlier sources. Bede is the only source providing information on Cædmon (670), one of the earliest English poets, whose only authentic fragment is included. Bede is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Beda is mentioned on the Scotland map (Ort8) as calling the Hebrides by the name Meuanias

Berosus 'the Imaginary or the turncoat or unreliable' (abt. 340-abt. 270 B.C.), also Pseudoberosus to emphasize his unreliability, the Chaldean, wrote a history of Babylonia

and also commentaries quoted by Viterbiensis (Ort117,118). Berosus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.8

Blondus or Biondio, Flavio (1392-1463), 'most famous among historians', became secretary to the Curia in 1434. He wrote 'Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades', a history of the Middle Ages, Venice 1483, and a historical-geographical lexicon about Italy (Ort122,129,131) called 'Italia Illustrata' and a topographical work about Rome called 'Roma instaurata' which appeared in 1471. Blondus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He also occurs in Hessels §39:3: Caesar Orlandius to Ortelius (1572).

Italia 129.17, 129.14b, 129.14c

Boece see Boëthius.

Boëthius or Boece, Hector (1465-1536), (not to be confused with Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boëthius of the 6th century who wrote 'De consolazione philosophiae' and became vice-chancellor of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland). This Boece wrote a history of Scotland 'Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine' Paris 1527. Although acclaimed upon publication, Boëthius' 'History' began to receive criticism from John Leland (1506-1572) and Humphrey Lluyd in his 'Commentariolo Descriptionis Britanniæ Fragmentum'. Boëthius's history was expanded with many fables by Ferrerius from Piemont, Italy, who published his version in Paris, 1574. Boëthius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

18.5, 18.12, 18.13, 18.14, 18.15, 18.20, 18.27, 18.28, 18.29, 18.30.

Boissard or Boissartus or Bossardus, Jean Jacques (1528-1602) was a French archaeologist who lived in Metz, France, and who wrote 'Methodo historica'. He also wrote 'Emblemata', owned and appreciated by Ortelius (Hessels §258.11). He exchanged letters with Ortelius, see Hessels 167: Boissard to Ortelius (1589); 194: Boissard to Ortelius (1591); 233: Boissard to Ortelius (1593). Boissard is mentioned in Hessels §175.1: Sylburgius to Ortelius (1590); §181.5: Sylburgius to Ortelius (1590); §231.1: Clusius to Ortelius §258.11 (1593); Barbosa to Ortelius (1594) and §303.4: Ortelius to Colius (1597).

129.17

Bonfini, Antonio (1427-1503) was an Italian by birth. He was by Mathias Corvinus called to the Hungarian court. His 'Rerum Ungaricarum decades tres, nunc demum industria' was published by Martinus Brenneri Bistricensis Transylvani in Basel in 1543 and 1568 (Ort105,150,152,154,155,162,163). He is called the Hungarian Livius. He often relies on Blondus. Bonfinius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Decades of Hungary 150.13, 150.19, 150.22; Bk.1&2, Decade 1, History of Hungary 162.8

Broderith, Stephan or Stephanus (died in 1540) was a Hungarian state official. He reports on the battle of Mohacz in his 'De Claude Ludovici II regis Hungariæ' (Ort152,153) which he experienced as one of the retinue of the king. It was printed in Basel (Ort152,153). Broderith is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

150.13, 150.22

Cabot or Caboto, Sebastian (c. 1474-1557) was born in Venice as the son of the maritime explorer Giovanni Caboto. In 1495 he moved to Bristol, England. He studied navigation and learned to design maps. In 1509 he sailed to North America and tried to find the North-West passage. He moved to Spain and travelled on request of Spanish

authorities to South America and East Asia, returned to Spain and taught navigation and cartography in Sevilla. In 1548 he returned to England. He published various world maps (Antwerp, 1544) which were not used by Ortelius. Yet, he is mentioned in Ortelius' 'Catalogus Auctorum' from 1570 onwards.

160.18

Cadamostus, Alvise or Aloysius da (1426-1483) was a Venetian sea explorer who worked for the Portuguese king Henricus on the African West coast in 1455 and 1456. He wrote down his experiences in 'Navigazione nell' Africa' which Ramusio included in his collection. Ortelius refers to his 'Letters' (Ort12) written in 1454.

8.15

Cæsar, Julius (100-44 B.C.) was military commander of the Romans. His works are written in the third person to convey an impression of objective history rather than personal memoir. They were often published and commented on, for instance by Phil. Beroald from Bologna, by Rhellicanus, by Gaguin in French (Paris, 1539) and by Blasius Vigenarius in 1576. His best known work which survived in its entirety is 'De bello Gallico' [The war against the Gauls] (Ort36,37,39,42,55,78,190, 194,196,197,198,199,200). Also 'Commentaries' on the wars in Africa, Alexandria and Spain, written by members of his staff, (Ort25,33,34,36,70,71,73,115,189,190, 192,194,196,200) which first appeared in print in 1471 in Venice, with numerous subsequent editions. These 'Comments' are quoted by Vigenereus (Ort194). He also wrote a report to 'Arriovistus' (Ort199,200) and 'De Bello Civili' (Ort47,192,196). Cæsar is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

58.40, 129.14b

Calvus, Fabius (died in 1527) of Ravenna was a physician who translated the works of Hippocrates. He wrote about ancient Rome: 'Antiquæ urbis Romæ cum regionibus simulachrum' Basel 1532, 1558.

129.17

Campensis, Albert (15th-16th century) of Italy wrote 'Lettera intorno le cose di Mascovia', included in Ramusio's Volume 2, Rome 1543.

162.8

Candidus, Ioannes or Giovanni Candida (abt. 1450-1500) was an Italian lawyer, historian and diplomat who wrote 'Commentariorum Aquileiensium libri VIII' (Ort119,129), Venice 1521. Candidus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

History of Aquileya 129.14c

Capitolinus, Iulius (fourth century A.D) is supposed to have written together with other historians 'De Historia Augusta', consisting of biographies of Roman Emperors, including 'Clodius Albinus' (Ort80), 'Macrinus' (Ort218), and 'Pertinax' (Ort211,218). Capitolinus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Life of Pertinax the Emperor 211.14

Cassiodorus, Flavius Magnus Aurelius (485-580) was a Christian Roman statesman and writer. He was consul and pursued a public career until the 540s. He then retired to his estate to devote himself to scholarship and the Christian life as a monk in the monastery he founded at Vivarium in Calabria. He published twelve books of 'Variæ Epistolæ' (Ort121,122,210), including a 'Letter to Anastasius' (Ort121,122,129,140,143,196,200,203,206, 208,210,224), and to 'Gaudiosus' (Ort129), and also 'Institutiones', a guide for the religious

and secular education of monks, including how to copy manuscripts. Cassiodorus is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.2; : Bk.2 Ch.35-36 Variar. 129.4; : Bk.2 Varieties to Gaudiosus 129.14

Cato, Marcus Porcius (234-149 B.C.) was a Roman statesman with very pronounced opinions, particularly about the necessity for Rome to destroy Carthago. He wrote 'Origines' (Ort130,206,208) and is quoted by Cicero (Ort211). He is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Quoted by Cicero 211.5

Chalcocondylas or Chalcondylas, Laonicus (abt. 1423-abt. 1490) of Athens, Greece was a Byzantine historian who wrote about the Turks in 'Apodeiksis Historiooon' or 'Pedigree of the Ottomans' (Ort168,169), which was translated into German by Konrad Clauser and published in Basel, 1556. Its contents have been included in the 'Chronology' written by David Chytræus (Ort155). Chalcocondylas is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He is mentioned in Hessels 29.4 Navarchus to Ortellius, and in 196.4 Ortellius to Cools²⁴ (1591).

215.9

Chytræus, David (1531-1600) has continued 'Saxonia' (Ort58,59,85,87,90,91,92,97,144,145,155,157,158,159,160,161,162,163) begun by Krantz. He also published a description of Kraichgau, Germany, and a 'Chronology' containing work by Chalcondylas, translated into Latin by Konrad Clauser, Rostock 1573.

Saxon history 58.7, 160.18, 162.8

Cicero, Marcus Tullius 'the Orator' (106-43 B.C) wrote 'Orationes', edited by Carbone, and Giorgio Merula (Ort141,186,196,210,211,214,215), 'Tusculan Disputationes' (Ort1,2,3), 'Offices' (Ort19), 'Scipio's Dream' (Ort221), 'Res publica' (Ort3), 'Letter to Trebatius' (Ort16, 190, 192), 'De Provinciis Consularibus' (Ort196), 'Nature of Gods' (Ort3,220,221), 'Book of Laws' (Ort224) and 'Oratio to Vatinius' (Ort203). He quotes Marcus Cato (Ort211). Cicero is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.7; : 2nd Oration to Verres 211.5, 211.12; quoting Marcus Cato 211.5; : Oration for Flaccus 215.3

Contarenus, Ambrosius or Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542), bishop of Belluno, wrote 'Persian Journies' (Ort162).

Persian Journies 162.8

Corsali or Corsalis, Andreas (born in 1487) was an explorer by sea in the service of king Emanuel of Portugal. He travelled to the Indies and China in 1516 and recorded this journey in 'De navigatione maris rubri et sinus Persici'. His 'Navigatione in Conchin' was included in Ramusio as well as in Temporal's 'Recueil Tom. II' Lyon, France 1556. He is mentioned on the mapsheet of Ort166 in connection with New Guinea. See also Giulia Grazi (2003) 'Per Andrea Corsali', Soc. Tip. Barbieri, Nocchioli & C., Empoli, Italia. Corsali is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Mentioned on mapsheet concerning New Guinea Ort166

Crantzius or Cranz or Kranz, Albertus (died in 1517) of Münster and Hamburg wrote 'Saxonia' (Ort88,89,90,91,92,93,99) and 'Metropolis' (Ort85,87,90), as well as a 'Description of Wandalica' (Ort99,101,154,155,158,160,162). He is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

160.17, 160.26-27; : Wandalica 162.8

Curtius Quintus Rufus (1st century) was a Roman historian who wrote a history on Alexander the Great called 'Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis libri decem', Venice 1494, 1531, of which the first two books have not survived. He is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

166.8

Cuspinianus, or Cuspinian, Johannes or Hans Spiesshaymer (1473-1529) was a professor, physician and historian in Vienna. He published and commented on the works by Dionysius Apher, and also on works by Florus. He wrote 'Oratio Protrepica' (Ort150,153) and a description of Austria called 'Austria' (Ort116,150) and published in 1553. He was co-editor of the Hungary map by Lazarus Secretarius. He is quoted by Collimitus (Ort114). Ortelius included him in the 'Catalogus' from 1570 onwards.

Oratio Protrepica 150.13, : Austria 150.13

Diodorus Siculus (flourished about 60-30 B.C.) from Sicily wrote a popularising encyclopedic history 'Bibliothèque' in 40 books of which 15 have survived (Ort1,2,3,8), covering the earliest history of the East to Cæsar's time. He is referred to by Ramusio as 'Diodoro Siculo: Navigazione di Jambolo'. Sicilian histories by Diodorus Siculus were published by Vascosan, (Paris 1554), and Estienne (Paris, 1559). Diodorus also wrote 'On Pytheas' (Ort161). He is quoted by Plinius (Ort217) and quotes Hesiodus (Ort211). Diodorus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

8.14, 166.8, 211.4, 211.7-8; : on the authority of Hesiodus 211.3.

Dion, Prusæus (first century A.D.) was a Roman orator who wrote 'Orations' (Ort166,216,222,224) and 'Oration to Bundvica' (Ort16,190,192). The following works which Ortelius attributes to him, namely 'Life of Nero' (Ort16,63,172,190,191,192), 'History of Hadrianus' (Ort216), 'Life of Emperor Traianus' have not been written by him. Dion Prusæus quotes Homerus (Ort212) and is quoted by Xiliphine (Ort192), Theodosius (Ort199) and Causabonis (Ort212).

35th Oration 166.8

Dionysius Periegetis Apher or Afer (second century A.D.) lived in Alexandria and wrote in hexameter verse about seas, coasts and islands of the world as then known. The first comments on this work are provided by Eusthatius (from 1166 onwards Archbishop of Thessaloniki, Greece). Further he was published and commented on by Cuspinianus, by Jo. Camers (Vienna, 1512) and by Robert Estienne (Paris, 1547). From letters referred to in Antonini's 'Itinerar.' it appears that Andreas Schott gave a copy of the poem written by Dionysius Apher called 'Der Perieget' (Ort199,200) published by Rufus Festus Avienus and commented on by Macer (Ort199,200) and Eusthatius (Ort192,221,222), and also a copy of the 'Itinerarium' by Claudius Rutilus Namiatus in the hope that Ortelius could convince Plantin to publish them. Afer is mentioned in cartouches (Ort187) and cited by Columella (Ort218).

211.2, 211.9

Dioscorides or Dioscurides, Pedianus (second half of the first century A.D.) wrote 'De Materia Medica', first published in 1499, about medicinal plants (Ort210). He was commented on by Angerius Busbechius (Ort149). Dioscorides is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.6

Divæus, Petrus or Peter van Dieve (1535–1581) of Louvain was a historian from Brabant, Belgium. His main works are ‘De antiquitatibus Galliæ Belgicæ, adde, qualis sub imperio Romano’ (Ort44,45) Antwerp, Plantin, 1584, and ‘De antiquitatibus Brabantia’. He also wrote comments on Procopius (Ort78). He is mentioned in Hessels §156.25: Gruterus to Ortelius (1588).

58.7

Dupinet, Antonius (1510–1584) or Pinetus was a Frenchman who published and commented on Plinius Caius Secundus’ ‘Historia Naturalis’ in Lyon, France 1542. Also ‘Plants, pourtraits et descriptions de plusieurs villes et forteresses, tant de l’Europe, Asie et Afrique que des Indes et terres neuves’. There are references to his work ‘Description of cities’ (Ort1,2,38) which is probably the work just mentioned. He is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius’ ‘Synonymia’ (1578).

215.8

Erasmus, Desiderius (1467–1536) of Rotterdam translated the complete works of Aristoteles into Latin and published them in 1531. His work ‘Adagia chiliades’ (Ort79,147,211) which was published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1506 is also well known and its aphorisms and scholarship were eagerly incorporated in Ortelius’ Theatrum. He also wrote ‘Laus Stultitiæ’ and ‘Epistula’ (Ort75,76,77). In a 1579 Latin copy of the Theatrum in the Vatican Library, Erasmus is censured as a heretic. Erasmus is also mentioned in Ortelius’ ‘Synonymia’ (1578). Hessels letter 1 is a letter from Erasmus to Morillonus (1524), Hessels letter 3 is a another letter from Erasmus to Morillonus (1534) which Ortelius was apparently proud to possess. Further Erasmus is mentioned in Hessels §10.4: Vryfpenninck to Ortelius (1561); §89.10: Monau to Ortelius (1579); §156.26: Gruterus to Ortelius (1588); §192.10: Ortelius to Colius, praising Erasmus’ follies in his ‘Moria’.

Chiliades 211.15, Adagijs 211.15

Eust(h)atius (late 12th century, died in 1195 or 1198) ‘who lends his ears to fables’ became archbishop of Thessaloniki, Greece, in 1166. He wrote comments on Dionysius Apher (Ort192), on Homerus, dealing with history, geography, language and mythology of Homeric epics, and also ‘Lycophron’ (Ort189), and ‘Reports from Ælius Pollux’ (Ort147). He quotes Athenæus (Ort214), Homerus (Ort147) and Afer (Ort16,221,222) and is quoted by Dionysius (Ort190). Eustatius is also mentioned in Ortelius’ ‘Synonymia’ (1578).

211.3

Fabricius, Georg (1516–1571) of Chemnitz became dean of a grammar school in Meissen. After having travelled extensively he wrote ‘Itineraria Romanum, Neapolitanum et Patavinum, Chemnicense, Argentoratense, hexametrico carmine scripta’ 1550, further ‘Roma itinera, monumenta antiqua’, also ‘Origines Saxonica’, ‘Annales urbis Misenæ’, then ‘Res Germaniæ magnæ et Saxoniae universæ memorabiles’ and finally ‘Saxonia illustrata’. In a 1579 Latin copy of the Theatrum in the Vatican Library, Fabricius is censured as a heretic. Fabricius is also mentioned in Ortelius’ ‘Synonymia’ (1578). Hessels §28.1 mentions Fabricius in a letter from Goltzius to Ortelius (1570).

129.17

Faunus, Lucius (16th century) from Italy wrote ‘Della antichità della Città di Roma’ published in Rome in 1540.

129.17

Fioravanti, Christoforo (15th century) was an Italian traveller who wrote a text about a shipwreck.

160.17

Firmicus, Maternus Julius (4th century A.D.) of Syracuse was a Roman Christian author who wrote 'De errore profanarum religionum'. He also wrote 'De nativitatibus', also known as 'Mathesis', which presents popular Roman traditions and sets out a practical astrological method, citing Hermes, Orpheus, Abraham and Æsculapius as sources. Firmicus' work ranks as the most comprehensive textbook of astrology in ancient times. He also wrote a 'Tractate' (Ort19).

211.11

Fracastorio, Girolamo or Fracastorius, Hieronymus (1483-1533) from Verona was a physician and poet, a friend of Ramusio. In his letters to Ramusio he writes about the nature of the Nile floods. These letters were familiar to Ortelius (Ort8).

Letters 8.15

Fulvius, Andreas (early 16th century) who also called himself Antiquarius Sabinus wrote a 'History of Rome', initially in the form of a poem, which he submitted to Pope Leo in 1513. The Pope recommended to Fulvius to rewrite it in prose, which he did. The work was published in 1527. He is quoted by Smetius (Ort206).

129.17

Gaguin, Robert (1433-1501) commented on works by Cæsar in French (published in Paris in 1539), and also on the work of Florus 'Lucii Ænnæi Flori: De tota Historia Titi Livii Epitome' published in 1471 at the Sorbonne, Paris, France. His best known work is a French history to which Ortelius probably refers (Ort37), and 'Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum', first published in 1495, and regularly revised until the end of his life. By the end of the 16th century it had run through 20 editions, and by 1514 seven translations had been published. Gaguin is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Treatise on Sarmatians 162.8

Gama, Vasco de (1469-1524) was a Portuguese explorer who first sailed around Africa and landed in Calicut. He died in Cochin, India.

8.4, 8.15

Gastaldi, Iacobo or Giacomo Castaldi (1505-1566) from Villafranca, Piedmont, Italy, worked in Venice. He designed more than 100 maps and worked with the Venetian publisher Ramusio. Ortelius used three of his world maps (Venice, 1546 and later) for his own world maps, Gastaldi's 3 maps together covering Asia (Venice, 1559-1561) for his own maps of Asia (Ort6,7) Tartaria (Ort163), Indiæ (Ort166), Persici (Ort167), Turcici (Ort168,169), and Anatolia (Ort174). Further, Gastaldi's Africa map (Venice, 1564) was used by Ortelius for his Africa (Ort8), Presbiterii (Ort175), Marocchi (Ort177) and Africa Propriæ Tabulæ (Ort218). Gastaldi's Greece map was used for Ortelius' Græciæ (Ort146), Romanîæ (Ort159) and the Parergon maps Ort203, 212 and 214. Gastaldi's Italy map (Venice, 1561) was used by Ortelius for his Italia (Ort117,118), Gastaldi's Piedmont (Venice, 1555) for Pedemontana (Ort128), Gastaldi's Padua map (Venice, 1555) for Patavini (Ort121,122), his Apulia for Apuliæ (Ort121,140) and Gastaldi's Sicilia (Venice, 1545) for (Ort141,211). He is included in the 'Catalogus' from 1570 onwards. Gastaldi is also mentioned as a source

in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). Hessels mentions Gastaldi in §170.8, 12: Philippus van Winghe to Ortelius (1589); §330.19: Joannes Radermacherus to Colius (1603).

215.8

Geni, Nicolao, see Zeno

Gilles, Petrus or Gillius, or Gyllius (1490–1555) was a natural scientist who travelled in the Mediterranean and Orient area. He wrote 'De Topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus libri IV' (Ort159) and 'De Bosphoro Thracio libri III' (Ort174) which was printed by cardinal Armaniac in Lyon in 1561. His work 'Cosmæ Indopleutes' is mentioned in (Ort166). Gillius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). Hessels 5 contains a letter from Petrus Gillius to Jacobus Amiottus (1549).

Cosmæ Indopleutes 166.8

Giraldus, Lilius, Sylvester Gregorius Cambrensis or Girald Barry (1146–1223) was a professor at Oxford, England, familiar with Ireland and Wales, who wrote 'Topographia Hiberniæ' (Ort22,23) as also 'De illaudabilibus Walliæ', 'Itinerarium Cambriæ' (Ort21) and 'Syntagmata Deorum' (Ort12). It has been said (Ort133) that he had such a strong memory that he never forgot what he had read only once.

18.13

Girava, Hieronymus (16th century) was a Spanish cosmographer who published 'Cosmographia y Geographia' Milan, Italy 1555 (Ort8) which contains interesting details about America and a rare map of the region. Girava is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Geography 8.23

Goltzius, Hubertus or Hubert Goltz (1526–1583) who lived in Antwerp and Brugge was a very dear friend of Ortelius, with whom he co-operated closely. They shared a passion for coins and medals. Together with Marc Laurin, a merchant of Brugge and also an avid collector of coins, he travelled throughout Europe to acquire old coins. Ortelius dedicated his wall map of the World to Laurin, and his wall map of Asia to Goltzius. Goltzius wrote 'Julius Cæsar sive historiæ imperatorum Cæsarumque Romanorum ex antiquis numismatibus restitutæ' (Brugge, 1563) on ancient coins (Ort141), as well as 'Fastos magistratuum et triumphorum Romanorum ab urbe condita ad Augusti obitum ex antiquis tam numismatum quam marmorum monumentis restitutos dedicavit' (Brugge, 1566) on the same subject and on marble statues. Goltzius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He contributed to Ortelius' 'Album Amicorum'. Hessels contains three letters from Goltzius to Ortelius, viz. nr. 28 (1570), nr. 45 (1574) and 105 (1581). Further, Goltzius is mentioned in §13.1,4–6,8: from Sambucus to Ortelius (1563); §16.1,5: Laurinus to Ortelius (1566); §18.1: from Justus Laureins to Ortelius (1567); §42.9,18: Daniel Rogers to Ortelius (1572); §47.2: Victor Giselinus to Ortelius (1574); §71.4: William Camden to Ortelius (1577); §72.8,10: William Camden to Ortelius (1577); §86.1,2,8: Johannes Gevaerts to Ortelius (1579); §95.7: Guido Laurinus to Ortelius (1580); §96.15: Georg Braun to Ortelius (1580) indicating that Goltzius was also an engraver; §122.4: Marcus Laurinus or Watervliet to Ortelius (1583); §125.10: Reinerus Reineccius to Ortelius (1583); §147.7: Johannes Vincentius Pota to Ortelius (1586); §149.12: Ortelius to Colius (1587); §156.26: Janus Gruterus to Ortelius (1588); §192.16: Colius to Ortelius (1591); §227.1: Angelo Brevetano to Ortelius (1593); §254.5: Andreas Schottus to Ortelius (1594); §258.12: Emanuel Barbosa to Ortelius (1594); §261.9: Ortelius to Colius (1595);

§309.11: Colius to Ortelius (1597); §313.2: Marquardus Freherus to Ortelius (1597); §324.4 Adolphus Occo to Colius (1599). Thus Golzius is more important to Ortelius than appears from the single quote below.

129.17

Guicciardini, Ludovicus (1523-1589), addressed by Ortelius as “my good friend”, was a nephew of the Florentine historian Francesco Guicciardini. He spent the major part of his life in Antwerp, Belgium as a merchant and wrote there ‘Descrizione di tutti i Paesi Bassi altrimente Germania inferiore’ (Ort61,62,81) Antwerp 1567. He is mentioned in the ‘Catalogus’ from 1570 onwards. He is mentioned in Hessels §24.12: Johannes Radermacher to Ortelius (1568); §89.7: Monau to Ortelius (1579); §106.2: Monau to Ortelius (1581); §156.21: Janus Gruterus to Ortelius (1588); §168.11: Janus Gruterus to Ortelius (1589).

58.2, 58.7, 58.44

Hackluyt or Hakluyt, Richard (1552-1616) from England was a friend of Ortelius and Colius who wrote ‘Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America’ London 1582, and ‘The principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation, by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the Compasse of these 1600 Yeeres, 12 volumes,’ (Ort186), London 1598-1600. Ortelius refers to his ‘English Voyages’ (e.g. in Ort8,11,13,224). Hessels contains a letter from Hackluyt to Ortelius, nr. 172 (1590). Further, he is mentioned in Hessels §164.11: Ortelius to Colius (1589); §184.7: Ortelius to Colius (1590).

English voyage II 8.15

Hanno (abt. 450 B.C.) of Carthago was the mythical author of the first surviving ‘Periplus’ (Ort8) which in fact is of a much later date. Hanno is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius’ ‘Synonymia’ (1578).

Africa 8.14

Herberstein, Sigismund, Freiherr of (1486-1566), Austrian nobleman, diplomat, governor and historian, went as German envoy to Russia twice. He reported his experiences in a very interesting work which appeared in Latin, German, Italian and Bohemian. Its Latin title is: ‘Rerum Moscovitarum commentarii’, (Ort150,154,155,160,189), Vienna 1546. It contains a map of Russia. Herberstein was included in the ‘Catalogus’ in 1570. He is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius’ ‘Synonymia’ (1578). He is mentioned in Hessels §91.4,12,16: Nicolaus Segovius to Ortelius (1579).

162.2, 162.8, 162.11; : Commentaries on Moscovy 150.13, 160.17

Herodotus (c. 480-425 B.C.) was a very popular Greek historian, often considered the father of history (although he was also a father of cartography) who wrote ‘Histories’ about the Persian wars in 9 books entitled after the muses, viz.: ‘Polymnia’ (Ort171,172,180,189), ‘Thalia’ (Ort8,216), ‘Melpone’ (Ort8), ‘Euterpe’ (Ort171,172) and ‘Clio’ (Ort207,208,222). He is quoted by Mardonius (Ort189). Herodotus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius’ ‘Synonymia’ (1578).

8.7, 166.3, 166.8; : Thalia 8.8; Melpone: 8.14

Hesiodus (about 700 B.C) was the most important Greek epic poet next to Homer. He is quoted by Diodorus Siculus (Ort211).

Quoted by Diodorus Siculus 211.3

Hieronymus, Sophronius Eusebius, Saint (c.348–420) from Stridon, Dalmatia, was a Church Father who translated the Holy Scriptures into Latin. This came to be called the Vulgate, which has been in use in the Roman Catholic church until 1979. He wrote ‘Epistles’, first printed in 1470. His second Epistle, addressed to the virgin Geruchia, quotes from Ardens the poet (Ort177), a letter to Iovianus (Ort72), a ‘Treatise against Symmachus’ (Ort218), and a ‘Prophet Essay’ (Ort193). Also: ‘About Pelusiotæ’ (Ort221).

150.17

Homerus (8th century B.C.), the ‘Prince of the Poets’ wrote ‘Iliad’ and ‘Odyssee’ (Ort224,231), first printed and published in 1488 in Florence, edited by Chalcondylas; quoted by Dion Prusæus (Ort212) and by Strabo (Ort214,217). Homerus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius’ ‘Synonymia’ (1578).

211.10

Iordanus, Marcus (1521–1595) from Holstein (designer of the map of Denmark, Ort84,85) wrote a Peregrination of St. Paul (Ort181).

18.15, 18.30

Iovius, Benedictus (16th century) of Italy wrote a history on Como (Ort129).

History of Como 129.14

Iovius, Paulus, also Jovius, also Giovio, Paolo (1483–1552) of Como, Italy, a brother of Benedict Iovius, wrote ‘Libellus de legatione Basilii magni Principis Moscoviæ ad Clementem VV Pon. Max.’, Rome 1525 which has also appeared with the title ‘Descriptio Moscoviæ’ Basel 1537. He also wrote ‘Descriptio Britannia, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ et Orcadum’ Basel 1546, and designed a map of Lake Como (Ort129a). He worked at the Embassy of the Moscovites and wrote a letter to Clement the Eighth (Ort162). Iovius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius’ ‘Synonymia’ (1578). He is mentioned in Hessels §5.14: Petrus Gillius to Jacobus Amiottus (1549); §42.2 Daniel Rogers to Ortelius (1572).

129.14, 129.19; Letter to Clement the Eighth 162.8

Isocrates (436–338 B.C.) was a Greek orator who quotes Philostratus (Ort189). Some of his orations were ‘Panegyrici’ [festival orations] (Ort189,215) and ‘Orationes et epistolæ’.

Panegyricos 215.8

Jesuit Epistles (16th century). There is no standard book covering this designation, but there is a variety of books comprised under this title, such as Philippus Jacobus Widmanstadt’s ‘De Societatis Iesu initiis progressu, rebusque gestis nonnullis’ published in Ingolstadt, Germany in 1556. Also letters about Japan by Gabriel de Mathos (1572–1633), Matthieu de Courous (1568–1633), João Rodriguez (1558–1633) and Gregorio Lopez (1560–1614). Ortelius mentions the Jesuit Epistles of Peres (Ort175) These Jesuits reported from the Far East to Rome about their missions which were instituted by St. Ignatius Loyola.

166.8

Josephus, Flavius (37–100), ‘a most serious scholar’ of Palestine was by birthright a priest, but became a politician and historian who visited Rome and sided with the Romans during the destruction by the Romans of the Holy Land and in particular Jerusalem and its Temple. He wrote ‘The Jewish War’ (Ort170,171,172,180,182,183,193,199,200,213) for which he is best known, but also ‘Antiquities of the Jews’ (Ort183,200,228), ‘Life’, an unconvincing self-justification and ‘Against Apion’ (Ort212,218,221) a refutation of anti-semitic outbursts by Greek writers, notably those from Alexandria. He quotes Nicolaus

Damascenus (Ort183) and is quoted by Ortelius (Ort175). Josephus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

8.11

Leander, Albertus (1479-1552) from Italy was a Franciscan monk and historiographer in Bologna who wrote an influential work describing Italy, called 'Descrittione di tutta Italia' (Ort121,122,125,129,131,137,140), (Bologna 1550, Venice 1551, 1553, 1561, 1568, 1577 and 1581). It contained maps of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. It was published in a Latin translation by Wilhelm Kyriander in Cologne, Germany in 1567. Leander also quotes Commentaries of Augustinus Iustinianus On Corsica (Ort137). He was first included in the 'Catalogus' in 1573. Leander is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He is mentioned in Hessels §272.3: Johannes Moravus to Ortelius (1595).

Italia 129.14, 129.14b, 129.14c

Leo Africanus, or Ioannes Leo, or Giovanni Leo, or Al-Hassan Ibn Mohammad al-Wezaz al-Fasi (1485/94-abt. 1552) studied in Fez, Morocco, travelled throughout North Africa, crossed the Atlas mountain range, made journeys in the Middle East and was captured by pirates on the Mediterranean island Zerbi. He was brought to Pope Leo X in Rome, and showed his manuscript describing North Africa. The Pope took him into his service, he was converted to Christianity and assumed the name of his benefactor Leo. He later reverted to the Islam. He published his description of Africa in Arabic and Italian (Ort8,141,174,175), a work which was very influential. Ramusio also published it, and Marmolius used it for his own description of Africa. Ortelius probably knew Leo Africanus' work through a Latin translation by Joannes Florianus of this work: 'Joannis Leonis Africani De totius Africae Descriptione Lib. IX' published in Antwerp 1556. Leo is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Africa 8.11, 8.15

Leslie, John (1527-1596) from Scotland was a leading catholic in the time of Maria Stuart and later a bishop. He wrote a history of Scotland 'De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum a primordio gentis ad annum 1562' which relied heavily on Boëthius, but with an original geographical description by way of introduction, called 'Regionum et insularum Scotiae descriptio'.

18.15

Leunclavius, Johann, or Leunclaw or Löwenclaus, 'the learned' (1533-1592 or later) from Westphalia extensively travelled the Orient and wrote various works about Turkish history, as 'Hansen Löwenclaus Neue Chronika türkischer Nation' (Ort169) which appeared in Frankfurt, Germany in 1590. His letters to Joachim Camerarius the young contain geographical information. He criticized Minadous' 'Historia della Guerra fra Turchi e Persiani'. Leunclavius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

215.9

Ligorius, Pyrrhus or Pirro Ligorico (abt. 1510-1583) was an Italian architect, archaeologist, and a painter of frescoes. Ortelius visited him in Ferrara in 1572. He made a Regni Neapolitani map (Rome, 1557) used by Ortelius (Ort139). He also made maps of Greece (Rome, 1561) and Friuli (Rome, 1563). He is quoted by Iulius Iacobonius (Ort196). He was included in the 'Catalogus' in 1570. Ligorius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius'

'Synonymia' (1578). He contributed to Ortelius' 'Album Amicorum'. He is mentioned by Hessels in §129.16: Augustinus Mustus to Ortelius (1583).

129.17

Lipsius, Justus or Joest (1547-1606) published and commented on Tacitus' 'Germania' (Ort199). He also commented on Velleius Paterculus' 'Historia Romana' (Ort129), Leiden, the Netherlands 1591. He is quoted by Smetius (Ort206). Lipsius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He contributed to Ortelius' 'Album Amicorum'. Hessels contains 7 letters from Lipsius to Ortelius, viz. nrs. 189 (1591), 191 (1591), 198 (1591), 201 (1591), 205 (1592), 235 (1595) and a letter from Lipsius to Franciscus Raphelengius, nr. 235 (1593). He is mentioned in Hessels in 37 different letters.

On Roman Greatness 129.17

Llhuyd, Humfred or Lhuyd or Lloyd (1527-1568) from Denbigh, Wales, was described by Camden as the most prominent scientist of his time. He was a physician and humanist with strong interests in archaeology and geography and drew a map of England used by Ortelius (see Hessels nr. 27) (Ort19) and of Wales (Ort21). He wrote 'Commentarioli Britannicæ descriptionis fragmentum' (Ort17,20), Cologne, Germany 1572, the treatise 'De Mona Druidum' which was appended to all scholarly editions of Ortelius' Theatrum, and a 'Chronicle on Wales', London 1584. He is mentioned for his England and Wales map in the 'Catalogus' from 1570 onwards. Llhuyd is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). Hessels contains one letter from Llhuyd to Ortelius, nr. 27 (1568), and Llhuyd is mentioned in §31.1,4: Robert Owen to Ortelius (1570); §34.1: Hugh Owen to Ortelius (1571); §42.1,14: Daniel Rogers to Ortelius (1572); §67.8: John Dee to Ortelius (1577).

Llhuyd quoting Sextus Rufius 18.2, 18.17

Lopez de Castanheda, Ferdinand (died in 1559) of Portugal wrote 'Historia de descobrimento e conquista da India per los Portugueses' (Ort164,166), Coimbra Portugal 1552, Antwerp (first book only) 1554.

Discourse on the Indies 166.8

Lucianus of Samosata (c. 120-190 A.D.), Ortelius calls him 'the poet', wrote 'Vera Historia', a 'True History' (Ort189), 'Vows' (Ort193), 'Apologia' (Ort196), 'De Amoribus' (Ort215), 'Marine dialogues' (Ort216), 'De Dea Syria' (Ort218), 'Jupiter's Tragedy' (Ort220,221), 'Pharsalia' (Ort194), 'Saltationes' (Ort226) and 'Hercules Ogmios' (Ort194). He is quoted in the cartouche on the Ancient Egypt South map, Ort220 and Ancient Egypt North maps Ort221. Lucianus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

De Amoribus 215.8

Lycophron (born third century B.C.) from Chalcis, Euboea, Greece, was a Hellenistic poet. His only surviving work is 'Alexandra', a dramatic monologue in which the slave instructed to watch Alexandra [Cassandra] reports her prophecies to her father Priam, king of Troy. He is commented on by Isacrius (Ort161,224) and Eusthatius (Ort189). Lycophron is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.10

Lycurgus (abt. 800 B.C.) drafted laws for Sparta in Lacedaemon's time.

215.6

Macer, Jean or Ioannes (16th century) was a professor of Law in Paris. During a stay in Avignon, France, he met travellers who had spent 30 years in the Indies and wrote

down their reports in 'Indicarum historiarum libros III' (Ort166), Paris 1555. He wrote comments on Dionysius (Ort200).

History of India 166.8

Maffei, Giampetro, also: Volaterranus (1533-1603) was a Jesuit who lived in Lisbon, Portugal from 1572 to 1581 to consult sources for his history of the Indies. 'Historiarum Indicarum' (Ort11,164,165,166,177) which first appeared in Rome in 1588, then in Venice in 1589, then in Cologne, Germany in 1593. This is a classical work on the history of discovery and mission in America, India and Japan, assembled in Lisbon from original sources. He quotes Georgius Alexander (Ort147). He also translated from Spanish into Latin 'Commentarius Acostæ de rebus Indicis', 'Epistolæ de rebus Indicis' and 'Epistolæ de rebus Japonicis in Oriente gestarum' published in Dillingen, Germany in 1571 and in Cologne in 1574. He may have published work by Galvanus. Maffei is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He is mentioned in Hessels §217.13: Philip Wingius to Ortelius (1592).

Bk.12 Indian History 166.8

Magnus, Ioannes (1493-1544) was the brother of Olaus Magnus. He lived for some years in Rome and obtained papal approval for being appointed bishop of Uppsala, Sweden.

160.17, 160.25

Magnus Olaus (1490-1557) the Goth and priest from Linköping, Sweden drew a map of Scandinavia (Venice, 1539) which Ortelius used (Ort4,5,160). He also wrote a historical geographical work 'De gentibus septentrionalibus, veris conditionibus, statibus et moribus' published in Rome, 1555, in Antwerp, 1558, and published in German in Strassbourg 1567. He is mentioned in the 'Catalogus' from 1570 onwards. Magnus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

160.17, 160.25

Major, John or Maior Scotus (born in 1470) of Scotland was a professor at the University of St. Andrews who wrote in barbaric Latin a history of England and Scotland called 'Historia Majoris, Britanniae tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ' [Major history of Britain, England and Scotland.] Paris 1521.

18.4, 18.13, 18.14, 18.15, 18.19, 18.25, 18.28, 18.29, 18.30

Manilius, Marcus (early first century A.D.) wrote 'Astronomicon ad Caesarem Augustum'. It describes creation and the heavens, the signs of the zodiac, and astral influences on human beings from an astrological point of view. Numerous editions appeared from 1472 onwards.

215.3 [Astronomica Bk.4 line 686], 215.5 [Astronomica Bk.4, line 762]

Marlianus, Bartholomeus (died in 1560) from Milan, Italy wrote 'Topographia urbis Romæ cum præmissis observationibus de pronomine, nomine et cognomine urbis' Lyon, France 1534, Bern, Switzerland 1539, Rome 1544, Basel 1550, 1558, Frankfurt 1573, with a preface by Rabelais. The Lyon publication was supported by Cardinal Armagnac. Marlianus also wrote 'De foro Romano'. He is mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

129.17

Mármol Carvajal Luis or Marmolius (1520-1600 or later) from Spain participated in the expedition of Charles V to Tunis and spent the next 22 years in North Africa, of which 8 years as a prisoner of war of the Moors. He consulted Arabic sources and wrote a

reliable treatise 'Descripcion general de Affrica', Granada and Malaga, Spain 1573 to 1599. Ortelius refers to his 'Folio 48' in the Açores text (Ort24).

8.15

Martianus Capella (abt. 425) from Carthago wrote an encyclopedia of the seven free arts called 'De nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii'. This rather tasteless work was used as a schoolbook during the Middle Ages and was translated into German by Notker Labeo Teutonicus. He also seems to have written a Periplus, [voyage by ship] (Ort192). Martianus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.7

Matthias à Michou (1457–1523) or Matthias de Miechov of Poland was a physician and historian who wrote 'Chronica Polonorum' and 'Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis, asiana et europeana', first printed in 1517 in Cracow, and referred to by Ortelius as a 'Discourse on the Sarmattes' (Ort154,155). Matthias is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He is mentioned in Hessels §91.3: Nicolaus Secovius to Ortelius (1579).

150.13, 162.8

Maurus Lucius (16th century) published the West Indies history of Lopez de Gomara in Italian translation in Venice in 1566. He also collaborated with Aldroando.

129.17

Mazochius, Jacomo or Jacobus (16th century) wrote 'Epigrammata s. inscriptiones antiquæ urbis Romæ' (Ort129), Rome, 1521. Mazochius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). Hessels mentions him in §45.30: Golzius to Ortelius (1574).

Epigrams 129.17

Mercator, Gerardus or Gerard Kremer (1512–1594) designed a world map (Duisburg, 1569) used by Ortelius who qualifies it as 'never sufficiently praised' (Ort1,2,3,10,11,12,175). Further a map of Europe (Duisburg, 1554), used by Ortelius (Ort4,5,181), a map of the British isles (Duisburg, 1564), resulting in (Ort16,18,22), a Flanders map (Louvain, c. 1540) leading to (Ort75,76,77). He was a close friend of Ortelius and wrote an introduction to the 1573 Latin edition of Ortelius' *Theatrum* praising its contents and form as being much better than the Italian maps. This letter was included in all subsequent Latin editions of the *Theatrum*. Mercator dedicates his wall map of Switzerland to Ortelius, and is mentioned in the 'Catalogus' from 1570 onwards. He also contributed to Ortelius' 'Album Amicorum'. Hessels contains three letters from Mercator to Ortelius: nrs. 32 (1570); 38 (1572) and 99 (1580). Further, Mercator is mentioned in Hessels §55.6,7: Antonius Piso to Ortelius (1575); §86.9: Johannes Gevaerts to Ortelius (1579); §253.2: Reineccius to Ortelius (1594); §259.4: Mijlius to Ortelius (1594); §279.14: Adam de la Planche to Ortelius (1595); §287.2: Rumoldus Mercator to Ortelius (1596); §330.21: Radermacherus to Colius (1603); §331.6: Radermacherus to Colius (1603); §334.20: Radermachius to Colius (1604).

160.26

Michiel, Nicolà di or Nicolas Michaëlis (15th century) was an Italian writer who suffered a terrible shipwreck in the Mediterranean.

160.17

Münster or Munsterus, Sebastian (1488–1552) wrote 'Cosmographey' containing many maps which he designed himself, some of which were used for the *Theatrum* (Ort56, 114). His map of Germany (Oppenheim, 1525) was published in revised form by Tilemann Stella

(Wittenberg, 1560) and is mentioned in the 'Catalogus' as well as his Basel Territory map (Basel, 1538) (Ort114a). He published and commented on Mela's 'De Situ Orbis'. He also commented on Solinus. Much of what he wrote and designed was copied by Ortelius, who always mentions his source. In a 1579 Latin copy of the Theatrum in the Vatican Library, Münster is censured as a heretic. He is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He is mentioned in Hessels §143.2: Thevetus to Ortelius (1585/1589); §199.4: Ortelius to Colius (1591) and §200.9: Philip Pigafetta to Ortelius (1591).

150.13

Niger, Dominicus Marius (15th century) from Venice, Italy wrote a 'Geography' in 26 books, 11 on Europe (Ort58,59,129), 11 on Africa and 4 on Asia (Ort58). It was published and commented on by Wolfgang Weissenburger in Basel, Switzerland in 1557. Niger is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He is mentioned in Hessels §172.9: Hackluyt to Ortelius (1590).

166.2; : Geography 58.8, 129.14

Oderbornius, Paulus (16th century) was a priest in Riga, Livonia, and described the life of Czar Iwan Basilides (Ort158,162,189), which was published in Wittenberg, Germany in 1585.

Life of Basilides 162.8

Ovidius Publius Naso, 'the pleasant poet', (43 B.C.- c. 17 A.D.) soon abandoned public life to devote himself entirely to poetry. He married three times, and had one daughter. His third wife remained devoted to him, and loyal during his exile. Ovidius' poetry had made him a leading figure in the social and literary circles in Rome when in 8 A.D. he was suddenly banished by Augustus to Tomi on the Western shore of the Black Sea, and his books were removed from public libraries, probably because of his 'De Arte Amandi' and/or his connections to the adulterous daughter of Augustus Julia, who was also banished. He wrote 'De Fastis' or 'Fasti' (Ort187,210,222), printed from 1482 onwards. It deals with festivals and ceremonies of the Roman calendar, which provided an opportunity for retelling Greek myths, and also relate superstitions such as the unluckiness of marriages in May, and the casting of straw men into the Tiber. The work was interrupted by Ovidius' banishment, and though a draft of books 7-12 may have been written during this exile, only the first six books survive. Further, Ovidius wrote 'De Arte Amandi' (Ort203) as just noted, 'Elegies' (Ort212,229, title cartouche), 'De Tristibus' (Ort212,224) which contains a short biography, 'De Ponto' (Ort212), 'Exile Poetry' (Ort229) and 'Metamorphoses' (Ort210,217,226). Ovidius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.7, 211.9

Oviedo, Gonsalvo Fernando (1478-1557) or Ovetanus was an Italian explorer who wrote 'Indian Islands' (Ort166), translated into English in 1577. He is mentioned on the map sheet Barbariæ, Ort176, west of Gibraltar.

Vol.2, Bk.20 Indian Islands 166.8

Palladio or Palladius, Andreas (1518-1580) was an architect from Vicenza, Italy who wrote about architecture and about old monuments in Rome.

129.17

Pausanias (2nd century A.D.) of Lydia wrote a travel itinerary for Greece, published by Romulus Amaseus as 'Pausaniæ, Græciæ descriptio, græce et latine, cum Romuli Amasei

versione', in Florence, 1551. A further edition was published by Xylander and von Sylburg in 1583. This work is also known as 'Arcadia' or 'Achaia'. (Ort193,200,215,217,222,223,224). This work contains an important historical and topographical description of Greece, which is particularly valuable for its observations on artistic monuments. Their accuracy is confirmed by existing remains. Parts of this work are called 'Phocica' (Ort196,217,223,224,231) and 'Eliaca' (Ort222). He cites Belgius (Ort198). Pausanias is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.9, 211.14, 215.9; : Achaia 215.10

Petri or Petrus, Henricus (1508-1579) was a printer and map publisher of Basle, son in law of Sebastian Münster, whose *Cosmographie* was published by Petri in the period 1540-1552. He also seems to have published the book 'Geographia' made by Dominicus Niger (Ort59).

58.8

Pictor, Quintus Fabius (254-201 B.C.) was the first Roman annalist, describing the history of Rome from Æneas to the second Punic war. He wrote in Greek.

129.16

Pigafetta, Marcus Antonius (1491- abt. 1526) accompanied Magellan as a cosmographer and has given us a vivid account of this first trip around the world in his itinerary 'Viaggio attorno il mondo' published by Ramusio (Ort3,166). He also gives an account of a voyage from Ulm via Vienna and Belgrado to Constantinopel, printed in Italian in London. He is the father of Philippus Pigafetta.

166.8;: Travels around the World 166.6

Pigafetta, Philippus (1533-1604) from Italy corresponded with Ortelius and sent him a description of the Congo with ten images, two of which were maps (Rome, 1591) used by Ortelius (inset Ort177). The Congo map was not made by Pigafetta but compiled from sources provided by Duarte Lopez. Pigafetta is also mentioned in the dedication given in the cartouche of the Bologna map, Ort124. He also seems to have written 'Travels through Egypt' (Ort8). After Ortelius' death Pigafetta persuaded Vrients to publish an Italian version of the *Theatrum*, or possibly these plans were made with Ortelius before his death. Pigafetta provided the Italian translation for this edition which was published in 1608 and with an adapted title page in 1612. He was included in the 'Catalogus' in 1592. Hessels contains one letter, nr. 200, from Pigafetta to Ortelius (1591). Further, he is mentioned in §217.8: Philip Wingius to Ortelius (1592).

8.15, 129.17

Pindarus (518 - 446 B.C.) was a Greek lyrical poet, born in Boeotia, Greece, famous for his Epinician (victory) Odes, written in honour of the victor at the four great panhellenic games. These Odes are accordingly grouped as Olympian, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian Odes. He also wrote epic mythical narratives. Pindarus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

8.7, 211.10

Pinetus see Dupinet

Pintianus (Roman times) is an unidentified author quoted by Mela and Plinius.

Quoted by Plinius Bk.3 Ch.8 211.7

Plinius, Caius also Gaius Secundus and Plinius Maior (23-79 AD) was considered a great authority in the renaissance. His 'Historia Naturalis' [natural history] (occurring on

almost every map text in Ortelius' atlas, see specific references below) of which the second book deals with Astronomy and Earth science, and Books 3–6 with Geography, were published and commented on by Ermolao Barbaro as 'Castigationes Plinianæ' (Venice 1497), by Camers (Vienna 1514), by Guilandinus, a physician from Königsberg, Germany (Venice, 1572), by Hiernonymus Verrutius, a Frisian lawyer, by the French Dupinet (Lyon, 1542) and Daléchamps, and by the Spanish philologist Guzman or Nunnus Pincianus (Ort211), Salamanca, Spain 1544, Antwerp, Belgium 1547, and Frankfurt, Germany 1569. This work is the fruit of an inexhaustible curiosity and the only full work by Plinius extant. As he says in the preface, no Greek by himself has compiled an encyclopedia of the whole of nature, and no Roman had done so by himself or with others. By his own account, the 37 books contained 20,000 facts compiled from over 100 sources (the index in fact lists 34,707 observations from 473 different authors). These include such curiosities as the skeleton of the monster to which Andromeda was first exposed, exhibited at Rome, the tricks elephants were taught, the perils to which sponge divers were exposed, and the introduction of the first barbers to Italy. The first printing of this book in Venice in 1469 by Spira marked the first appearance of any scientific text in print. It was followed by an edition published by Beroaldus in Parma in 1476, an edition by Palmarius, Venice 1499 and commentaries started to appear with *Hermolai Barbari Castigationes Plinianae, Romae* 1492. By 1800, over 200 editions had appeared.

Varro is quoted by Plinius (Ort118), Gellius quotes Plinius (Ort196). Further (the book?) Caninius (Ort129), and 'Carnis' (about meat?) (Ort143). Plinius quoted Isogonus (Ort212), Diodorus (Ort217), Diogenetus (Ort222) and Diocades (Ort217) and Plinius is quoted by Cæcilius (Ort200) as having written 20 volumes of 'History of Germany' which Ortelius unfortunately cannot find a copy of. Ortelius also complains that Plinius' placenames contain too many spelling variants. Plinius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

166.2, 166.3, 166.8, 211.2, 211.9, 211.13, 211.14, 215.2, 215.4, 215.9; : quoting Pintianus Bk.3 Ch.8, 211.7; : Bk.17, Ch.5 58.5, 58.40

Plinius Publius Cæcilius Secundus, also Plinius Minor (61–113 A.D.) was the nephew of Plinius Maior, who was less inclined towards science than his uncle, and more towards literature. His Panegyrics, such as 'Panegyric to Traianus' (Ort221), are well known. Plinius wrote Epistles to Iunius Mauricius (Ort123,206) to Licinus Sura (Ort129) to Macer (Ort199,200), to Timosthenes (Ort213) and to Maximus (Ort215). Plinius Minor is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

129.4, 129.6, 129.7, 129.10, 129.14c, 129.24; : Epistle to Maximus 215.5; : Bk.2 Caninius 129.13, : 4th Epistle to Licinus Sura 129.13

Plutarchus (c. 50–c.120 A.D.) was a Greek biographer, historian and moral philosopher. He studied philosophy in Athens under the Platonist Ammonius, a man of practical as well as philosophical ability. All his biographical work is summarised under the umbrella title 'Vitæ Parallellæ'. He was a prolific writer who wrote, among other things, 'On the (face of the) Moon', (Ort9,10,11,12,16,189,190,192,224), 'Vitæ illustrium virorum' including 'Life of Theseus' (Ort186), 'Life of Camillus' (Ort189,206,208), 'Marius' (Ort189,199,200,212), 'Life of Demetrius' (Ort191,192), 'Life of Cato the Elder' (Ort224), 'Life of Cæsar' (Ort197,198), 'Life of Pericles' (Ort216), further 'De defectu oraculorum' [on the ceasing of oracles] (Ort191,192,217,222), 'Æmilii' (Ort231), 'De Montibus' [About Mountains]

(Ort221,222), 'Moralia' (Ort224) a collection of all non-biographical works by Plutarchus, 'Pyrrhus' (Ort196), 'Symposion' (Ort196), 'Book of Virtues' (Ort196,213), 'On fortitude of women' (Ort196,208), 'On superstition' (Ort196), 'Lesser Parallels' (Ort199,200,209), 'Convivial. Quæst.' (Ort200,208,211,221), 'Greek Questions' (Ort208,217), 'Comparing living creatures' (Ort224), 'Natural Questions' (Ort224), 'Laconia Apothegmata' (Ort215), 'Comparison between Animals' (Ort217), 'Osiris' (Ort221,222), 'Tranquillity of the Mind' (Ort224), 'About Alexander' (Ort222) and 'Tanais' (Ort213), 'Treatise on famous women' (Ort208) and 'Flaminus' (Ort231). He quotes Sosthenes' 'History of Iberia' (Ort193) and Xenagoras (Ort231). He is quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus (Ort199,200). Plutarchus is mentioned in a cartouche (Ort187). He is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.4, 215.9; : Laconia Apothegmata 215.7; : Convivial. Quæst. 211.9

Pollux, Julius 'the Grammarian' (second century A.D.) was a Greek scholar and rhetorician who wrote 'Onomasticon' and 'De Manibus' (Ort211) and 'Deipnosophistai' according to Ortellius, which is incorrect (Ort217). He is quoted by Eustathius (Ort147).

211.13; : De Manibus Bk.2, 211.9

Polo, Marco (1254-1324) also Paulus Venetus, was a merchant of Venice who travelled to the Far East and wrote about his travels. His writings, particularly 'Il Millione' [the book of a million wonders] were translated into various languages. A Latin version was published by Reineccius, Helmstad Germany, 1585, and a German version was published by Megister. Venetus is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

166.2, 166.4

Polyænus (abt. 200-118 B.C.) was a Greek historian writing about Rome's rise to power who served on an embassy to Egypt, and who was kept prisoner in Rome for 16 years without accusation or trial. Ortellius owned his work 'Polyæni Strategematum Libri Octo', (Leiden 1589) which he signed. It is now in the Royal Library of Brussels. Polyænus is quoted by Heraclides (Ort216). He is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

215.9

Pomponius Mela, 'the worthy, renowned geographer' (early first century A.D.) of Tingentera near Gibraltar was praised in the 16th century almost as much as Ptolemæus. His work 'Cosmographia, sive De Situ Orbis' [cosmography, or about the situation of the world] which discusses the three continents of the Roman world in three volumes was often commented upon. This text constitutes the earliest Latin work on geography and includes the oldest geographical description of the world. The publishers mentioned in the *Theatrum* are the Italians Ermolao Barbaro and Thomas Porcacchi, the Germans Camers, Vadianus and Münster, and the Spanish Petrus Olivarius and N. Guzman. Also: 'About the Origin of the Law' (Ort229) but this may be another Pomponius. Pomponius Mela is also mentioned as a source in Ortellius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.4, 215.2

Porcacchi, Thomaso (1530-1585) from Tuscany, Italy, published and commented on Mela's 'De Situ Orbis' [about the situation of the world] and other classical authors such as Curtius, Dictys Cretensis and Darius Phrygius. He himself wrote 'L'isole più famose del mondo descritte', [description of the most famous islands of the world] (Ort1,2,3,147,149), Venice

1576. He seems to have published a world map in 1572 and a history of Como (Ort129). Porcacchi is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

History of Como 129.14

Possevinus Antonius or Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) from Mantua, Italy was a learned Jesuit who travelled to Poland, Russia and Sweden as a delegate of the Pope and became familiar with these countries. He wrote 'Biblioteca selecta de ratione studiorum' (Ort164) Rome 1593, 'Epistola de rebus Suecicis, Livonicis Moscovitiás, Polonicis, Transilvanicis' Mantua, Italy 1580, 'Moscovia' Wilna, Lithuania 1586, Antwerp 1587, Cologne 1595 bound together with writings by Bronovius, Reichersdorf and Werner (Ort162).

Moscovia 162.8

Postel or Postellus, Guillaume Barentonius (1510–1581) studied Latin, Greek and Oriental languages in Paris, travelled to the Middle East where he learnt Hebrew and was appointed as professor in mathematics and oriental languages at the Collège de France in 1539. He wrote 'De originibus seu de hebraicæ linguæ et gentis antiquitate' (Paris 1538), 'Les tres merueilleuses victoires des femmes du nouveau monde' (Paris 1553), 'De la République des Turcs' (Poitiers, 1560), 'De universitate seu Cosmographia' (Ort170, Paris 1563), 'De Etruria regionis originibus' (Florence, Italy 1551), 'Syriæ descriptio' (Paris, 1540) (Ort171,172), as well as numerous other works. He also designed a world map (Paris, 1578) used by Ortelius and a map of France (Paris, 1570) also used by Ortelius (Ort35). He corresponded with Ortelius from 1567 onwards, and is included in the 'Catalogus' from 1573 onwards. In a 1579 Latin copy of the Theatrum in the Vatican Library, Postel is censured as a heretic. Postellus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). Postellus wrote three letters to Ortelius: Hessels nr. 19 (1567); 20 (1567); 81 (1579). Further he is mentioned in Hessels §89.10: Monau to Ortelius (1579).

8.8

Ptolemæus Alexandrinus Claudius, 'the Prince of Geographers' (c. 100–180 A.D.) was the first cartographer to employ in his 'Geographia' systematic listings by latitude and longitude, an achievement for which he had no successors for 1400 years. Most references below apply to his 'Geographia' which appeared in the Renaissance in numerous editions. He also wrote 'Quadripartite' (Ort189), i.e. the astrological work 'Tetrabiblos', 'De Mundo' and 'Almagest' (Ort192) and quotes Sotacus (Ort192). Ptolemæus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

8.3, 18.6, 18.11, 18.21, 18.26, 215.2

Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius (c. 35–100 A.D.) wrote 'Oratio' (Ort211) also called 'Institutio oratoria' (Ort211,232), first printed in Rome in 1470. It is a treatise on classical rhetorical theory. Aiming to restore the art of rhetoric to the high standards of Cicero, Quintilianus outlines the training of an orator, which he insisted instilled good character and was necessary for responsible citizenship.

Bk.6 Orat. 211.11

Quirini, Piero (early 15th century) was a Venetian who wrote 'Oratio gratulatoria ad Fridericum II Imp. Romanorum' [A congratulatory speech to Frederick the Second, Emperor of the Roman Empire]. He became Governor of Crete.

160.17

Ramusio, Giovanni Baptista (1485–1577), a Venetian historian, wrote 'Periplus' (Ort224) and 'Letters' (Ort8). He refers to two books by Arrianus, viz. 'Arriano: lettera intorno al Mare

Maggiore' and 'Nearchos, Navigatione la quale scritta Arriano'. Also to Diodorus Siculus' 'Diodoro Siculo: Navigatione di Jambolo'. He is best known for republishing a collection of travel reports as 'Raccolta di navigazioni e viaggi', Venice 1550, 1556, 1559, 1588 and more. The authors he published include Cadamosto, Hanno, Vasco da Gama, Alvarez, Amerigo Vespucci, Thomas Lopez, Gio da Empoli, Barthema, Diodorus Siculus, Andreas Corsali, Francis Alvarez, Nearchus, Barbosa, Poggio, Hieronymus di St. Stephano, Transilvanus, Antonius Pigafetta, Juan Gaetano, Marco Polo, Joseph Barbaro, Ambius Contarini, Albert Campense, Paulus Jovius, Arrianus, Giorgio Interiano, Hippocrates, Petrus Quirinus, Sebastian Cabot, Zeno, Guagnino, Mattheus à Michow, Martyr, Oviedo, Cortez, Nunnus Alvarez, Nan. Guzman, Francis Ulloa, Marco di Nizza, Pizarro, Francis Xeres, Verazzano and Cartier. Gastaldi assisted in the engraving of a number of maps to illustrate the texts in this book. Ramusio is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Letters 8.15; On Navigation 166.8

Ranzanus, or Ranzane, Petrus (1428-1492) was a Dominican from Palermo, Sicily, Italy who became bishop and was in Hungary for three years as a delegate of Ferdinand of Naples. He wrote 'De rebus Hungaricis' (Ort150), which was published by Sambucus in Vienna in 1558.

Abridged Histories of Hungary 150.13

Rufus or Rufius, Ioannes Sextus Anienus (died in 1284), also called John Red, from Cornwall was a Dominican monk who wrote 'Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum' [Chronicle of priests and emperors]. Rufius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). He is quoted by Llhuyd (Ort18).

129.16; quoted by Llhuyd 18.2, 18.17

Salustius or Sallustius, Gaius Crispus (86-34 B.C.) was elected praetor by Cæsar in 49 B.C. and became governor of Numidia in 46 B.C., where he enriched himself at the province's expense and was (unsuccessfully) charged with extortion on his return to Rome. He became the owner of fine gardens (the 'horti Sallustiani'), withdrew from public life and devoted the rest of it to become a prominent Roman historian who wrote 'Bellum Iugurthinum' (Ort8) concerning North Africa. It was published and commented on by Ponticus Virunius (1467-1520), Aldo Manutio (Venice, 1576) and Fulvius Ursinus (Antwerp, 1595). He also wrote 'Historiæ' (Ort199,200) of which some 'Fragments' survived (Ort210,212). Sallustius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Bellum Iugurthinum 8.14

Sambucus, Johannes or Zsámboki János (1531-1584) was a historiographer from Hungary who studied in Vienna, Wittenberg, Paris and Padua. He also lived in Brugge and Antwerp and was a good friend of Ortelius. He designed maps of Friuli, Illyricum, Transylvania (Vienna 1568), and Hungary (Vienna, 1571) used by Ortelius (Ort119,144,151,152,153). He is included in the 'Catalogus' from 1570 onwards. Sambucus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). Hessels contains three letters from Sambucus to Ortelius: nr. 13 (1563), 14 (1564) and 44 (1573), and is mentioned in Hessels §62.6: Arias Montanus to Ortelius (1576); §89.9,15: Monau to Ortelius (1579); §148.7: Ortelius to Emanuel Demetrius (1586).

129.17

Sanutus, Livio (1520-1576) was a cartographer in Venice who cooperated with Ruscelli and made a large globe around 1570. His main work is 'Geografia della Africa' (Ort8, 12,177) which only appeared after his death (Venice, 1588). He is first included in the 'Catalogus' in 1592.

8.15

Saxo Grammaticus (1185-abt. 1220) wrote 'Gesta Danorum' or Danish History which was published in Paris 1514, in Basel 1534 and in Frankfurt 1576.

160.17

Scaliger, Julius Cæsar (1484-1558), physician, publisher and commentator. He wrote among many other works 'Comm. in Theophrastus historia plantarum' Leiden 1566, 'Comm. in libros Aristotelis de plantis' Leiden 1556, a funeral address (Ort120) and an 'Oration' about the city of Verona and lake Benacus in Italy. His son Joseph (1540-1609) had a university career in Leiden. Julius Scaliger is mentioned in Hessels §339.13: Sweerts to Colius (1607).

8.12

Scotus, Marianus (1028-abt. 1082) was an Irish monk and scholar who left Ireland and lived on the continent in Cologne, Fulda and Mainz until his death. His 'Chronicle of the World' covering world history from creation to 1082 was much used in the Middle Ages, notably by Florence of Worcester and Sigebert of Gembloux.

18.10

Silius Italicus, Gaius, 'the worthy poet from Spain' (26-101 A.D.) wrote 'De bello Punico', the longest Latin poem in 12,200 verses, an important source on the Punic wars between Rome and Carthago, first printed in Rome in 1471. Italicus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.2; : Bk.14 211.7

Solinus, Caius Julius Polyhistor (3rd century) wrote a collection of fables and other unbelievable stories called 'Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium' later printed as 'Polyhistor sive de mirabilibus mundi' (Ort19,209,216) which have geography as their starting point. It aimed to be a sequel to Plinius' 'Historia Naturalis'. Solinus' 'Polyhistor' was published and commented on by J. Camers as 'G.J. Solinus cum enarrationibus et indice Camertis', Vienna 1520, containing Apian's famous world map, as also maps by Vadianus, Münster, Vinet, Olivarius and others. He quotes Cassius Hemina (Ort223), Varro's 'De Lingua Latina' (Ort231) and Xenophon's 'Lampsacenus' (Ort224). Solinus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.6, 211.8, 211.12

Statius, Achilles or Aquiles Etaco (1524-1581) published Secco's Portugal map in Rome in 1561. Further, he wrote a book on love that could not be identified.

Bk.2 On Love 211.12

Stella or de Esterella, Ioannes Christophorus Calvetus (16th century) of Spain wrote a 'Journal of King Philip', (Ort58). He is mentioned in Hessels §106.6: Monau to Ortelius (1581).

Journal of King Philip 58.7

Stephanus Henricus Byzantinus (527-565) was a Greek grammarian and writer of a lexicon (Ort193) containing in alphabetical order the names of countries, cities, and peoples (Ort3). The first printed version was published by Aldo Manutius, a further one by

Wilhelm Xylander ('De Urbibus' [about cities] (Orti, 231), Basel Switzerland 1558). Stephanus also wrote 'Airos' (Orti86) and quotes Hecataeus Cosmography (Orti93). Stephanus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

2II.13

Strabo (64 B.C.–after 24 A.D.) was a Greek geographer from Amasia, Greece, who came to Rome in 44 B.C. to complete his education and subsequently visited the city several times. He travelled from Armenia to Etruria from the Black Sea to the borders of Æthiopia, returning to his home in about 7 B.C., where he remained until his death. His surviving great work called the 'Geography' containing 17 books, seems to have been completed in 7 B.C. It has been suggested that it was originally published at Amasia, where it was perhaps revised and republished in about 18 A.D. in order to account for the surprising fact that it was not known to the Romans, not even to Plinius the Elder, although it seems to have been known in the East. Strabo insists that his 'Geography' was intended for political leaders, and its aim was to impart practical wisdom. He describes the physical geography of the chief countries in the Roman world, giving the broad features of their historical and economic development and an account of anything remarkable in the customs of their inhabitants or in their animal or plant life. The first two books serve as a general introduction. After a remarkable preface in which he discusses geography as a branch of scientific inquiry, Strabo deals with the dimensions of the inhabited world and the position of various places with reference to a simple grid. Books 3–17 discuss Spain, the Scilly islands, Gaul, Britain (of which he knows little), Italy, Sicily, North and East Europe, Asia around the Black and Caspian Seas, Asia Minor, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, Æthiopia and North Africa. Strabo considers Africa to be a triangle North of the equator. Strabo based his geography on Eratosthenes whom he brought up to date. He regarded the world as a sphere, having only one continent in the Northern hemisphere, entirely surrounded by the ocean. His work is invaluable in informing us about the state of geographical knowledge in his day, as well as containing many entertaining descriptions: how the Indians capture elephants and long-tailed apes, how the Arabs get fresh water out of the sea, how the Egyptians feed their sacred crocodiles etc. His work, in epitomised form, was used as a school book in the Middle Ages. He was considered by the geographers of the 16th century as one of the greatest classical authorities. Numerous editions of his *Geographia*, sometimes called 'De situ Orbis', e.g. Basel 1549 in Greek and Latin by Guarinus Veronensis and Gregorius Tifernas have been published. The best edition of his 'Geographica' is considered to be the one by Wilhelm Xylander, Basel, Switzerland 1571. Another edition is by Casaubon (Ort209). There are also Straboes 'Epitome' (Ort214) and 'Comments' (Ort210,214,222). He quotes Pytheas (Orti61), Posidonius (Ort212), Homerus (Ort214,217), Apollodoris (Ort224), Eratosthenes (Ort224), Nicolaus Damascenis (Ort232) and Ephorus (Orti89), and is quoted by Lazius (Orti16). Strabo is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

129.3, 166.2, 166.8, 2II.2, 2II.3, 2II.9, 2II.13, 2I5.2, 2I5.9; : Bk.6 2II.6

Tacitus, Cornelius (c.55–120 A.D.) was born in Gaul and had a senatorial career in Rome which began under Emperor Vespasianus. He won fame during his lifetime and Plinius the Younger was proud to be associated with him. He wrote 'Germania', first printed by Poggio Braccolini in Venice (1470), a work that enjoyed great popularity in Ortelius'

time. It was further published and commented on by Beatus Rhenanus (1519), by Andreas Althamer (1529) (Ort105,106), by Jodocus Willichius, by Glareanus and by Lipsius (Ort105,199,200). His main works are 'Annales' (Ort16,21,137,190,192,194,196,199,200,232), dealing with the period of Tiberius to Nero, which was based on other historians, public records and, where possible, his own experiences. His other major work is 'Histories' (Ort79,182,183,194,199,200), covering the period 69-96 A.D., and discussing the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasianus, Titus and Domitianus; further he wrote 'Iulius Agricola' (Ort192). He is quoted in Emperor Julian's 'Misopogonos' (Ort199,200). Tacitus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

18.2, 18.17

Theophrastus Eresius (372-287 B.C.) was a Greek philosopher and a prolific writer who, among numerous other works, wrote 'History of plants' (Ort12,209,217,224).

211.12

Thomas [of Liège] or Hubertus Leodius (16th century) wrote 'De Tungris & Eburonibus' (Ort63,66,69,70,71). He is mentioned in Hessels §96.13: Georg Braun to Ortelius (1580).

Hubert, Thomas of Liège 58.7

Thucydides (460-399 B.C.) was a Greek politician and historian who wrote 'History of the Peloponnesian War'. He is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

211.8, 215.9

Transylvanus Maximilianus (16th century) of Transylvania wrote a book about the circumnavigation of the world 'De Moluccis insulis' published in 1523 which is the first account of Magellan's voyage around the world and to the Philippines. Transylvanus is mentioned in Hessels §1.4 Erasmus to Guido Morillonus (1524).

166.8

Tristinus or Trissino, Giovanni Georgio (1478-1550) of Venice was an Italian poet, linguist and geographer who in 1547 wrote a heroic epic poem on the liberation of Italy from the Goths called 'L'Italia liberata da Gotti' (Ort129).

Heroic Poem on the liberation from the Goths 129.17

Trogus Pompeius (early first century A.D.) 'the serious historiographer' was a Roman historian who wrote a universal history in 40 books (Ort182,183,193,210) called 'Historiæ Philippicæ' centred, as the name indicates, on the history of Macedonia under Philip II, probably based on Greek sources, e.g. Theopompus. We only have an epitome of this by Iustinus, which is nevertheless very valuable for the history of Macedonia and the Hellenistic kingdoms. Trogus is cited by Belgius (Ort197,198). A summary or epitome on Trogus was written by Iustinus (Ort183,197,198,210). Trogus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Bk.8, 215.3 : Bk.14 211.12

Ursinus, Fulvius or Fulvio Orsino (1529-1600) published on Roman coins in 'Familiae Romanae quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus ab urbe condita ad tempora divi Augusti', Rome, 1577, and commented on Sallustius' 'Bellum Iugurthinum', Antwerp, Belgium, 1595. Fulvius is also mentioned in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578). Hessels nr. 183 is a letter from Ursinus to Nicolao Roccox (1590). Further, he is mentioned in §101.3: Johannes Metellus to Ortelius (1580); §149.11: Ortelius to Colius (1587); §156.11: Gruters to Ortelius (1588); §170.33,39: Philippus van Winghe to Ortelius (1589); §220.4: Bonaventura Vulcanius to Ortelius (1592) and §309.3,9,18: Colius to Ortelius (1597).

129.17.

Vasco de Gama, see Gama, Vasco de.

Venetus, Paulus, see Polo, Marco.

Victor, P. Vitensis (born about 430), African bishop of Byzacena, wrote 'Historia persecutionis Africanæ Provinciæ, temporibus Geiserici et Hunirici regum Wandalorum', a contemporary narrative of the cruelties practiced against orthodox Christians of Northern Africa by the Arian Vandals (Ort229). Victor is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

129.16

Vitruvius Pollio Marcus (about 90 B.C. to about 20 B.C.), 'the famous architect' wrote 'De Architectura' (Ort186,215,231), Venice 1511, 1524, 1535, Perugia 1536, Strassburg 1543, Lyon 1552, Venice, 1567. There is a quote of Vitruvius at the top of Ort187 from 1592 onwards. Vitruvius is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

Bk.1 Ch.4 Architecture 215.10

Volaterranus see Maffei.

Werner or Wernher, Georg (late 15th-16th century) wrote together with Bronovius a work on Moldavia, Transylvania and Chersonesus Taurica which was published by Mylius in Cologne in 1595. In 1505 Werner wrote 'Hypomnematum de admirandis Hungariæ aquis' (Ort150). Werner is also mentioned in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

The strange waters of Hungary 150.13, 150.16, 150.19 , 150.22

Wimman Nicolaus, also Winman (16th century) wrote 'Navigationis maris arcti', Basel 1538, and 'De arte natandi' 1538.

160.17

Zeno, or Zenus or Zeni, Antonie & Nicolai (born abt. 1380) wrote letters during their travels to Iceland and North America in the late fourteenth century, as later reported by Nicolò Zeno.

160.10, 160.11, 160.12, 160.13, 160.16, 160.17

Zieglerus, Jakob (1470-1549) was a German humanist, astronomer and geographer who wrote 'Syria' and 'Schondia' (Strassbourg 1532). His cartographic activities include maps, published in his 'Geography' (Strassbourg, 1532). These are referred to on the maps of Palestina (Ort170,171,172) and Scandinavia (Ort160). He was included in the 'Catalogus' from 1570 onwards. In a 1579 Latin copy of the Theatrum in the Vatican Library, Zieglerus is censured as a heretic. Zieglerus is also mentioned as a source in Ortelius' 'Synonymia' (1578).

160.3, 160.9, 160.17.

6.5 Results

Let us now comment on the above list of sources. We assume here that the classical period ends at 450 A.D, the medieval period ends at 1400 A.D., and anything after that belongs to the renaissance, taking the birth date of the bibliographical source as the decisive moment. Then, the following characteristics of our bibliographical sources for each period can be obtained, as specified in table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Distribution of sources and the number of quotations from each source for each of the three time periods for 10 maps.

Number of classical sources	Number of medieval sources	Number of renaissance sources	
51	10	82	
121	14	144	Total number of quotes
32	4	58	Number of quotes from identified works
2.37	1.4	1.75	Average number of quotes per source

Table 6.1. shows that the largest number of sources belongs to the renaissance period, yielding the largest number of quotes from the largest number of identified books.

The middle category consists of the classical sources. The number of different sources is lower for the classics than it is for renaissance sources, but the average number of quotes per source is larger for the classical authors (viz. 2.37) than it is for the renaissance authors (viz. 1.75), indicating the greater trust and confidence by Ortelius in the classical sources. The medieval sources are by far the smallest category, and the number of quotes per author is also the smallest (viz. 1.4). These data reflect the literary interests of Ortelius as a true humanist living in the flourishing epoch of the renaissance in North-western Europe. As a true humanist, Ortelius has rediscovered the greatest literary treasures that can be found in the classical literature. The scholarly insights contained in medieval writings clearly have little to offer. Yet, Ortelius' respect for the classical writers is not without scepticism. Chances that the classical literature has things of value to offer for his map texts are much greater than for finding such treasures in the medieval literature, and are perhaps even preferable to those written by his contemporaries. Yet, he is not only delighted but to some extent also critical about what he finds in the classical literature, as appears from the 'epitheta ornantia' attributed to his classical sources as shown in his map texts: Strabo and Ptolemæus are both often called 'princes of geography', Tacitus is repeatedly called 'a grave author' which is certainly meant as a compliment, Pomponius Mela is a 'worthy, renowned geographer' (§231.3), Livius, 'although he may be partial' (§ 196.99) is a man of 'great credibility' (§193.52) 'singular judgement' (§210.9, 210.11), Vergilius is 'peerless' (§12.13), 'the great poet' (§193.3), the 'great, fair Westerner' (§209.2), Ovidius, the 'pleasant poet' (§ 210.7), Trogus Pompeius is the 'serious historiographer' (§223.12), Homerus, the 'prince of poets' (§212.11), and Silius Italicus, the 'worthy poet' (§193.31). But these attributes are not simply awarded because these authors wrote classical literature, but because Ortelius appreciated their writings as being closer to the truth than much that was written later. When we come to the later classical and the medieval writers, the characteristics attributed to these authors becomes more critical. Solinus Polyhistor, a 2nd century classical author is characterised as being 'full of fables' (§16.41), and Berosus is called 'imaginary' (§193.3), 'liar' (§194.31), 'turncoat' (§197.7) or 'Pseudoberosus' (§ 199.2, 200.10 and 208.5) to express contempt. As may be expected, some medieval writers are, not without reason, considered to be totally unreliable. Aimonius and Eusthatius 'lend their ears to fables' (§211.3). John Mandeville is also called a 'liar' (§ 6.5 and 7.7).

This chapter dealing with Ortelius' literary sources aims to demonstrate that map texts *on verso* of atlas maps are a rich background source with information about the books that Ortelius used to compose his texts. These texts not only provide the names of authors and their books in an incomparably more detailed manner than (some of) the maps themselves do, but the

authors provided in the map texts are also evaluated by who may be regarded as one of the most knowledgeable scholars of the renaissance in North-western Europe, Abraham Ortelius.

6.6 Accuracy of references and quotations

The question remains to what extent Ortelius gives the correct author when he quotes from or refers to an author. We would also like to know whether he refers to the correct work and whether the book and chapter of that work indeed contains the reference or quote. Since quite a few of the works of the authors quoted in the 10 map texts analysed here are uncertain as regards their title and/or difficult to access, we will restrict ourselves to one author who only wrote one work and who is quoted most often in the collective corpus of *on verso* texts, viz. Plinius Maior the Elder. It is not surprising that this is Ortelius' most quoted book, since it is of the same encyclopaedic nature as Ortelius' own *on verso* map texts. It may be supposed that Ortelius was more careful in his quotes from and references to Plinius than he was with other authors, or conversely that he was more careless precisely because he was so familiar with this author. Whatever the case may be, since the number of quotes and references written by Ortelius for our 10 texts is rather small, we decided to expand it to all occurrences of Plinius in the entire *on verso* texts of all 226 Ortelius maps. This yielded 433 occurrences of Plinius' name without further specification of the Book and Chapter to which the reference refers. Next to those references we also have a substantial amount of those where not only Plinius' name is mentioned but where the number of the Book and Chapter of his *Historia Naturalis* is also mentioned. Let us develop a procedure which allows us to check whether Ortelius provides the correct Book and Chapter for his references and quotes. We used the Loeb edition²⁵ of Plinius in the transliteration made by Bill Thayer (1999-2008) which presents the same Latin Loeb edition with some comments and few pieces of translation as a web page for each of its 37 books²⁶. We merged these books to one text file for easy searching. If a reference is marked as confirmed, it means that we found it in the Loeb corpus. If a reference is marked as unconfirmed, this does not necessarily mean that it is not contained in the Loeb-Plinius corpus, but that the reference did not contain a clear anchor in the form of a personal name, place name or object that allowed for a successful text corpus search.

This procedure yields a list as presented below:

Bk.2, ch.68: 3.4 (confirmed as Bk.2, ch.174);
Bk.2, ch.103: 12.10, 12.36, 29.2 (unconfirmed);
Bk.2, ch.107: 136.10 (confirmed as Bk.2, ch.241);
Bk.2: 1.4-1.5, 2.4-2.5, 3.4-3.5 (lengthy quote, literally confirmed as Bk.2, ch.174-175);
Bk.3, on the authority of Augustus: 126.2 (confirmed as Bk.3, ch.49);
Bk.3, ch.1: 193.4 (confirmed as Bk.3, ch.8);
Bk.3, ch.2: 186.13 (confirmed as Bk.3, ch.17-18);
Bk.3, ch.3: 29.2, 30.3, 30.8 (confirmed as Bk.3, ch.23);
Bk.3, ch.5: 117.28, 118.28, 204.9, 205.9, 210.2 (confirmed as Bk.3, ch.39-42);
Bk.3, ch.5 and Bk.3, Ch.8: as quoted by Pintianus: 211.7 (confirmed as Ch.3, Ch.88);
Bk.3, ch.9: 37.15 (confirmed as Bk.3, ch.130),

Bk.3, 4, 5 & 6: 1.8 (unconfirmed);
 Bk.3, ch.12: 213.6 (unconfirmed);
 Bk.4, ch.4: 59.5 (confirmed as Bk.14, ch.4);
 Bk.4, ch.12: 216.15 (confirmed as Bk.4, ch.62);
 Bk.4, ch.15: 37.11 (unconfirmed);
 Bk.5: 222.25 (confirmed as Bk.5, ch.60);
 Bk.5, 224.57, 224.58 (confirmed as Bk.5, ch.8);
 Bk.5, ch.3: 80.21 (unconfirmed, introduced by Bedwell);
 Bk.5: 232.28 (confirmed, Bk.5, ch.79);
 Bk.6: 224.46 (confirmed, Bk.6, ch.14);
 Bk.6, ch.22: 12.10, 12.36, 224.47(unconfirmed);
 Bk.6, ch.27: 167.3 (unconfirmed);
 Bk.6, ch.31 (1608/1612I instead: ch.32): 224.58 (confirmed as Bk.8, ch.21.);
 Bk.9, ch.15: 165.8 Clypea (1606E only) (unconfirmed);
 Bk.9, ch.17: 196.28, 196.29 (confirmed as Bk.9, ch.26);
 Bk.10, ch.22: 198.20 (confirmed as Bk.10, ch.27);
 Bk.11, ch.22: 216.45 (1624Parergon only) (confirmed as Bk.11, ch.26);
 Bk.12, ch.1: 210.21 (1606E only) (confirmed as Bk.12, ch.6);
 Bk.13, ch.25: 12.10 (confirmed);
 Bk.13 (after 1589 corrected to Bk. 35), ch.14: 193.35 (confirmed as Bk.35, ch.48);
 Bk.13, ch.25: 12.10, 12.36, 224.47 (last text corrected to Bk.15, ch.25 in 1608/1612I)
 (unconfirmed);
 Bk.14, ch.22: 193.19 (confirmed as Bk.14, ch.29);
 Bk.15, ch.14: 197.19, 198.19 (confirmed as Bk.15, ch.51);
 Bk.15, ch.25: 197.19, 198.20 (confirmed as Bk.15, ch.30);
 Bk.16, ch.1: 82.2, 82.5, 83.2, 83.5 (confirmed as Bk.16, ch.2);
 Bk.16, ch.36: 197.19, 198.19 (confirmed as Bk.16, ch.158);
 Bk.17, ch.4: 58.5, 58.40 (confirmed as Bk.17, ch.26/27);
 Bk.18, ch.16: 224.58 (confirmed as Bk.8, ch.21);
 Bk.24 (from 1601L corrected to 34), ch.7: 196.102 (confirmed as Bk.34, ch.18);
 Bk.24, ch.11: 210.14 (confirmed as Bk.14, ch.25);
 Bk.28, ch.2 (in 1608/1612I corrected to ch.1): 196.107 (confirmed as Bk.28, ch.25);
 Bk.29, ch.3: 194.26-28 (confirmed as Bk.24, ch.62);
 Bk.34, ch.10: 67.5 (confirmed as Bk.34, ch.2);
 Bk.34, ch.12 & ch. 32: 33.15 (Ort33, Catalonia, 1608/1612I and later only), (confirmed as Bk.19 ch.2);
 Bk.34, ch.14: 31.27 (confirmed as Bk.34, ch.43);
 Bk.35, ch.11: 197.19 (confirmed as Bk.36, ch.44), 226.11 (confirmed as Bk.35, Ch.40, §130);
 Bk.35, ch.20: 197.19, 198.19 (confirmed as Bk.36, ch.44);
 Bk.35, ch.20 (corrected to Bk.26, ch.22 in 1606E only, corrected to Bk.35, ch.22 in 1624LParergon) 198.19 (both confirmed as Bk.36, ch.44);
 Bk.36: 222.26 (confirmed as Bk.5, ch.9 §49).

It will be noted in this list that quite a few book and chapter addresses have been corrected in the course of the life time of Ortelius' *on verso* texts. Let us summarise in table 6.2 what we

Table 6.2 Comparison of quotes and references to Plinius as found in Ortelius’ on verso text corpus compared with quotes and references as found in the Plinius Loeb corpus.

Plinius as a bibliographical source, as reported in Ortelius’ on verso map texts				
Unconfirmed	Plinius quoted by book		Plinius quoted by chapter	
	correct	incorrect	correct	incorrect
16	51	9	2	57

found by comparing Ortelius’ Plinius-data with those found in the Loeb corpus in our list. In this table, if according to Ortelius’ map texts a Plinius quote or reference is found in the same book and the same chapter as is the case in the Loeb corpus, then it is marked as being correct. Conversely if the book and/or chapter given by Ortelius is found to be different from the book/ chapter contained in the Loeb corpus, it will be marked as incorrect. This results in table 6.2.

From these figures we may draw the following conclusions:

1. There is a fair number of references made by Ortelius to Plinius which cannot be substantiated because the Ortelius text is not specific enough to allow a search in the Plinius-Loeb corpus. We have labelled these cases as ‘unconfirmed’.
2. The Plinius book mentioned by Ortelius in a specific quote or reference is mostly correct, and rather rarely incorrect.
3. The Plinius chapter mentioned by Ortelius in a specific quote or reference is mostly incorrect and very rarely correct.

Clearly, the obvious contrast of most books being quoted correctly and most chapters being quoted incorrectly cannot be attributed to chance. Moreover, after Ortelius’ death Vrients (for the 1609/1612 Latin edition), Bedwell (for the 1606 English edition) and Pigafetta (for the 1608/1612 Italian edition) in their few improvements on Ortelius’ Plinius references indeed correct book numbers in the rare event it was wrong, but persist in giving the wrong chapter number. This points to a high likelihood that the Plinius-edition that Ortelius used, and most probably also the Plinius-editions used by Vrients, Pigafetta and Bedwell, were different from what has more or less have become canonical versions of Plinius *Historia Naturalis* e.g. the Loeb version and the French *Collection des Universités de France*, edited and commented on by Jean Beaujeux. He notes²⁷ that more than 200 manuscripts of Plinius’ Natural History have been preserved, very unequal in quality often with missing pages and gross inaccuracies, resulting in clearly diverging printed versions, depending on the reliability of the manuscript used.

The old book and rare manuscript department of Pembroke College, to which Jacob Cools donated Ortelius’ library as noted above, may be expected to contain books and possibly manuscripts of many of the authors and their works as quoted above. It is beyond the scope of this study to pursue this venue any further here, but this approach promises to lead to an interesting investigation at some future time.

Notes

- 1 More details in Ogilvie, 2006.
- 2 Hunger, 1927-1943. (text in Dutch and German, documents in Latin).
- 3 Clusius is mentioned in the *Catalogus Auctorum* (1570 and later), *Synonymia* (1578 and later) and is three times mentioned in our complete text corpus, but not in our present selection.
- 4 De Landsheer, 1998. p. 141-151; Depuydt, 1997.
- 5 Letters 189, 191, 198, 201, 205 and 235, all written in the 1590-ies.
- 6 Ortelius' *Parergon* map of Spain, first published in 1590, shows that he was not very successful in finding the modern names of Livius' cities in Spain, but he faithfully lists no less than 51 tribes, 129 cities, 2 mountains, 2 rivers and 2 springs in a separate cartouche, by far the largest amount of places *incognitae positionis*, of uncertain location, of any *Parergon* map, and also refers to his *Thesaurus* for more information.
- 7 Hessels, 1887, letter no. 189, p. 454-455.
- 8 Hessels, 1887, letters no. 196, p. 473-475 & 199, p. 478-480.
- 9 Ortelius' numismatic collection found its way to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.
- 10 That Ortelius considered his library to be a very large one, particularly for a private owner is demonstrated in the following map text of Denmark (Ort84.6): "On this island is Visby, a prominent city, and most celebrated among the merchant cities of Europe. There are still marble ruins, testifying about its glorious past. It is still renowned today because of an abbey for Benedictans, in which you find a library with some 2000 authors and old codices".
- 11 Hessels, 1887, letter no. 149.
- 12 As presented in Denucé, 1912, volume 2, p. 149-235.
- 13 Karrow, 1993, p. 376 lists for Mercator the names Kremer, de Cremere, Gheert Scellekens and Gerardo Rupelmontano.
- 14 This book has recently appeared in Dutch under the apt title *De Wereld*, 2004.
- 15 Album Amicorum facsimile, Puraye. & Delcourt (eds.), 1969.
- 16 Based on Hessels, 1887.
- 17 See acknowledgements.
- 18 Gerbrandy, 2007.
- 19 *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1977-1999. München, Lexma Verlag, 10 volumes of about 2000 pages each.
- 20 Strayer, J.R. (ed.) 1982-1989. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, New York, Charles Scribner's sons, 12 volumes of about 800 pages each plus supplement.
- 21 Campbell, G. (ed.) 2003. *The Oxford dictionary of the Renaissance*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- 22 Grendler, P.F. (ed.) 1999. *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, New York, Charles Scribner's sons, 6 volumes of about 500 pages each.
- 23 www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html
- 24 In this letter from Ortelius to his nephew Colius we find the following intriguing remark (§ 196.4, translated from Latin by Hessels): "...when quoting the Athenian (Laonicus Chalcocondylas) in my Theatrum, [I] endeavoured to remove, as much as possible, the blot which he had cast upon them, by some kind of preface; I regret that what he told as history and what I related as a fable, is misinterpreted by others". This remark probably refers to a lengthy quote by Chalcocondylas, which Ortelius introduces as follows (§16.16): "Yet we want to mention what has been written about this isle of Britanny by a foreign author from Athens, namely Laonicus Chalcondylas, who, residing in Athens, wrote this history about it approximately one hundred years ago. Whether it is truthful or not, is something we leave to the judgment of the reader. And as far as what he has written is according to reality, we have wondered about the diligence of an author writing so long ago and

[observing matters] from such a distance. And where he deviates from the truth (because he has evidently written down some absurdities, contrary to the nature of this region), we understand that whatever any author writes on any country cannot always be according to the facts. Here then his narration, as interpreted by Conradus Clauserus". Ortelius concludes the lengthy quote as follows (§16.24): "This is what Laonicus has seen through the grid of the past".

- 25 Plinius, *Naturalis Historia*. Loeb Classical Library (10 Vols), 1932-1989, London, Harvard University Press.
- 26 http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Pliny_the_Elder/home.html
- 27 Pline l'Ancien, *Histoire Naturelle*, 37 Livres, 1950-1972, Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres" p.20-35.



7 Comparison of Ortelius' map texts with those of his contemporaries and successors

7.1 Introduction

Since Ortelius is the first maker of an atlas in the modern sense of the word, we can only compare his map texts with those of atlas makers who came after him. However, we will only endeavour to do this to a limited extent, since it is outside the scope of this study to analyse the development of texts in the atlases of Ortelius' successors over time in successive editions in the same manner as we have done for Ortelius' editions. Thus, this chapter is by necessity of a preliminary and provisional nature. We do express the hope that this study will induce others to make the atlas texts of later cartographers accessible and to analyse them in detail.

7.2 Comparison between the map texts written by De Jode and Ortelius

The first and most obvious atlas to be used for comparison is the *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* by Gerard de Jode (1509–1591) who like Ortelius lived in Antwerp. De Jode had already been active as a mapmaker before Ortelius started making maps, and apparently their relations were cordial, because the first and perhaps most significant map that Ortelius made in 1564, an 8-sheet world map², was published by De Jode. In 1571 De Jode also published a reduced one-sheet version of it. Yet, the cordial relation between Ortelius and De Jode already seemed to be deteriorating, for Ortelius' 2-sheet map of Egypt of 1565 and his 8-sheet map of Asia of 1567 were not published by De Jode.

Whether De Jode had the same reasons for conceiving the idea of making an atlas as Ortelius is difficult to assess. It may be justified to say that the time, place, and circumstances were right for cartographers/engravers like Hieronymus Cock, Filippus Galle, Gerard de Jode, and Ortelius, living in Antwerp in its Golden Age, for making a modern atlas. Their efforts were by no means restricted to cartography, but also included engravings featuring antique objects, coins, architecture, portraits, mythology, and emblems.

Ortelius was the first to come to the market with his *Theatrum* atlas. To publish it, he obtained 10-year privileges. This predecessor of present day copyright was granted by the Brabant Council on February 21, 1569 and by the Secret Council of His Majesty Philip the Second on October 23, 1569. In fact, one such privilege would have been sufficient, but Ortelius wanted to be absolutely sure. This effectively prevented the appearance of any competing atlas. An atlas of Germany and its parts by De Jode seems to have been more or less ready for publication as early as 1569, see Denucé, 1912/1913, vol. 1, p. 168–169. Approval that the *Speculum*, containing 27 maps of various countries, continents and the world, and 38 maps of Germany, defined very broadly, contained nothing that could displease the catholic authorities, was obtained by De Jode

on September 15, 1573. Imperial approval came in 1575, and Royal approval from Philip's Brussels authorities came as late as the end of 1577. Relations between Ortelius and De Jode worsened as a result of this delay. Once De Jode's *Speculum* atlas was finally printed in 1578, and came on the market in 1579, it did not mention the name of Ortelius, nor of his friends Mercator and Hieronymus Cock in its *Catalogus Auctorum*³. Similarly, Ortelius never mentions De Jode as his source, except indirectly in his *Catalogus Auctorum* under the entry Livinus Algoet, who made a map of the Northern European regions, published by De Jode. This entry was maintained by Ortelius in all editions of the *Theatrum* that have a *Catalogus Auctorum*.

Whether Ortelius was actively involved in defending his ten year privilege and thus keeping his competitor from publishing his own atlas is unclear. In a letter (de Ram, 1847, p.86) he wrote to Ioannes Crato on February 5, 1576, he says that De Jode's application had been refused by the King's Council and that it was probable that the appearance of the *Speculum* would be postponed until the privilege for the *Theatrum* had expired, viz. until October 23, 1579.

By that time the *Theatrum* had firmly established itself on the market, with new, expanded editions in various languages appearing every few years. In contrast to the *Theatrum*, of which almost half of all the 8175 copies printed were sold by Plantin, only very few copies of De Jode's *Speculum* were sold by Plantin.

On March 15, 1588, we find in the accounts of Plantin that Ortelius paid Plantin 265 florins (enough for about 30 copies of the *Speculum*) to be paid to De Jode without any further specification. Was this a reimbursement to De Jode for having had to wait so long with the publication of his *Speculum*? Or did Ortelius buy a substantial amount of copies of the *Speculum* to keep them off the market? No evidence is available for either possibility.

The texts *on verso* of the maps in the first edition of the *Speculum* were not written by De Jode, but by Daniel Cellarius Ferimontanus, a German geographer and physician of Wildberg in Würtemberg, Germany, who settled in Vlissingen (Schilder, 1987, p.82). In the *Speculum* Cellarius writes a lengthy dedicatory epistle to De Jode explaining his editorial practices, and also indicating that he played a major part in its planning and preparation. It is clear from this introduction that Cellarius is responsible for writing the texts and for preparing the work for the press. Whenever we refer below to De Jode's texts, we in fact refer to Cellarius' text.

Gerard de Jode died in 1591, and in 1593 his son Cornelis published an enlarged edition of the *Speculum*. When Cornelis died in 1600, Vrients bought De Jode's plates, but he did not reprint the *Speculum* as he did with the *Theatrum*, the plates of which he had bought as well. Vrients only used the two De Jode plates depicting the German Electors, which he inserted into the *Theatrum* in 1603. Some time after 1612 and before 1624, De Jode's name was removed from the second Electors plate.

We will now proceed with a comparison of the map texts. In view of what has been said above about strained relations between the two cartographers, we do not expect De Jode to be highly motivated to copy or imitate Ortelius' texts. On the other hand, the two cartographers could not avoid using at least some of the same sources and resources for maps as well as texts.

7.2.1 Text blocks on the maps

Although we are dealing here with mainly with *on verso* texts, some remarks about text blocks on the maps themselves must be made: such text blocks occur far more often on the De Jode maps than on the Ortelius ones, they are usually of greater length, and they are repeated, often in the same words, in the map texts. Therefore, we see a striking difference between the two cartographers, since, as we have seen, Ortelius has few text blocks on his maps, and they mostly contain information that is not contained in the map texts *on verso*.

7.2.2 Size & appearance

The 1570 *Theatrum* contains 53 maps, each with a map text *on verso* not exceeding half a sheet.

The 1578 *Speculum* contains 65 maps, each with a map text *on verso* of at least two half sheets, although these text sheets are not always filled all the way to the bottom of the page; the map of De Jode's Africa has one extra double folio text sheet which brings its total amount of text pages to 6; the map of Germany has one extra single folio text sheet yielding a total of 4 text pages. Extra text sheets were only introduced by Ortelius for *Parergon* maps in late editions from 1592 onwards.

All the *Speculum* texts have been typeset in two columns for easy reading, a lay-out which for the *Theatrum* was only introduced in the 1624 *Parergon*. The maps in the 1578 *Speculum* atlas have collectively about twice as much text as those of the 1570 *Theatrum*.

7.2.3 Contents

For the maps as well as for the texts accompanying them on verso, both cartographers used mostly the same cartographic if not literary sources, a fact of which the consequences will not further be pursued here. This situation is bound to lead to similarities in the texts. Yet, there are also consistent differences. These can best be illustrated by taking texts from each of the two atlases dealing with the same area, the choice of map texts being based on their relative shortness.

7.2.4 Cyprus-Creta texts compared

First we present the 1578 De Jode text on the islands of Cyprus and Crete *on verso* of his map (V.d. Krogt III map [7500:32]):

Cyprus

1. The isle of Cyprus is called as it is after Cyprus, the daughter of Cynica, so they say, or after cyper-grass, or, as Astynus writes, because it used to be called Cryptos [Greek: what is hidden] because it was often hidden by the sea, and later the [first] r was given up, and then it was called Cypros. But it was called by various [other] names, for it was called Athamantis, and Cerastes, and Aspelia, and Amathusa, and Macaria, who blessed it with riches and abundance, and Crypton, and Plinius writes that it was called Colonia.
2. Paphos, the son of Pigmalion called it Paphos. It used to contain nine kingdoms. Today the entire island is divided into eleven parts, called Contradas, which are located in such a way that these are from the West onwards Baffa which used to be Paphos, then Ausumo, Limisso, Mosoto, Salinis, and Mesarea. These are towards the South on the coastline, and are separated from the others on the other side by a long range of

mountains. The others have a view to the North and these are respectively Cruscoco, Pondagia, Cerenis and Carpasso. This last one is a burggraviate.

3. The main city of this island is said to be Cythera, which is why Venus, to whom this island is dedicated, is called the Cytheric one. Then there are Paphos, Palepaphos and Salamina. Nowadays they are Nicosia, once the seat of kings, and Famagusta, the merchant city of all of Cyprus. For it has no other harbours but this one, or another harbour sufficiently suitable. The isle itself is situated at the Carpathian sea, close to the bay of Issos, which they now call Gocsode Laiazzo, wonderfully fertile. For it is rich in wine and [olive] oil, and also has sufficient corn, hemp, cotton, and cane sugar from which sugar is boiled. From cotton they gain more profit and advantages than from corn.

4. For such incredible amounts of silk are brought from it to Venice, that the entire island seems to have disappeared in wool. The flocks are only brought to the fields in winter, but in the summer they are kept inside because of the excessive heat. The entire island does not have any river, but some should preferably be called mountain brooklets. To those specifically belong the Lycus and the Latephus, originating in the South from Mount Olympus and then flowing to the North. This mountain is the highest not only of Cyprus, but also of all of Greece, and also the highest of Europe, and it has sometimes almost been glorified by historians, at other times by poets, rising up from the inland of this island as it does.

5. It has woods with the highest trees, which is why this is also included in the praise for Cyprus, because it has all kinds of wood for ship building, and has no need for help from outside to make them. For they have trees suitable for masts, tar to bray the ships, hemp for the sails and for twining ropes. There are also woods with trees bearing fruits, called Carrubium and honeysuckle by merchants in aromatic oils, but the common people call it locust-bean. There were even copper mines from which vitriol and copper rust is obtained, suitable as medicine.

6. Further, there are in Cyprus some remarkable matters concerning herbs, stones and springs of a miraculous nature which we omit for brevity's sake. In the North, there are the Caramania and Phamphilica seas, in the East the Syrian [sea], in the South the Egyptian [sea] and in the West the Isle of Rhodos. It begins in the West with a longitude of 62 degrees and 50 minutes, where you find the Drepanian promontory, and ends at 65 degrees and 50 minutes of longitude in the East, where you find the St. Andrea promontory.

7. It has a Southern latitude of 34 degrees and 30 minutes, where at the pier *de la Gatelbaieam* you find the Cronnian promontory at 35 degrees and 30 minutes. Thus, it is in the fourth climate zone, which runs parallel to the 10th, which runs through the middle of Phoenicia. And has a longer day of 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ hours. Its length from West to East is 37 German or 148 Italian miles, and its width is 15 German or 60 Italian miles.

Candia

8. Candia obtained its name from its main city, but it used to be called Creta by the Curetian people, who were its first inhabitants, or from Cretheus, the son of Jupiter and Ida. The isle consists of four areas or Contradas named after its four main cities, which are all located at the North side of its sea coast. The first city towards the East is Sitia, the next Candia, an exceptional city and the capital of this kingdom, located at the middle

of the island in a long valley. The third [city] is Rhetimo and the last towards the West is *la Canea*. All ancient writers agree that in earlier times there have been 100 cities on this island, but Homer in the *Odyssey* refers to only 90, 10 being ruins after the defeat of Troy; this is why he mentions [in Greek] '90 cities' of which the most conspicuous were Cortyna, Cydon, Gnosus [or Knossos], the Minoic residence where Minos ruled for 9 years.

9. Nowadays these four are only known because of their former significance. They have three promontories, two towards the West, one of which is called *Capo Spado*, formerly Cimarium, the other towards the South is called the Head of the Lion. One towards the East used to be called Samonium, and is now called the Head of Salomon. There are only two important harbours, one called Spina Longa, the other *la Sudae*. The entire island consists of mountains and valleys. It has many forests and the cypresses spread an intense odour over the island. There are no harmful wild animals on Crete, nor owls, but there are large numbers of goats. It is very fertile in producing the best wine, which is called Cretian or Malvasian wine, deriving from a certain mountain slope.

10. It produces a great abundance of olive oil, cones, and cedar wood. It also has berries that can be used to dye cloth, further it has honey, wax and it is fertile in corn and herbs. On Crete you also find a certain herb called Alimos, which, when chewed, is said to prevent feelings of hunger all day long. It also produces sugar. The labyrinth close to the city of Cortina was the work of Daedalus, about whom is said that his footmarks can still be seen. Its best known mountains are Mount Ida, where Jupiter is supposed to have been born and raised, and Mount Dictaeus. It has few rivers, and those that you do find are not deep at all. At the north coast there are Milopotanus, Scasinus, Cladilis, Epicidomus, Gisso, Divotro, more westwards Nopuliar, and southwards Limens.

11. About its mines or hot springs nothing is found in the writers. In the east it is bordered by the Carpathian sea, in the west by the Adriatic sea, in the north by the Cretian sea, and in the south by the Phoenician sea. It begins in the west at 50 degrees and 45 minutes longitude at the Cimarian promontory, and ends in the east at 55 degree and 30 minutes, where one finds the promontory of the Head of Salomon. Its latitude in the south is 33 degrees, 50 minutes, and in the north 34 degrees and 50 minutes. Thus, it is located at the border of the fourth climate zone near the 10th parallel which runs through the middle of Phoenicia, and has a day of 14 1/4 hours. Its length is 35 German miles or 140 Italian miles. Its width is 15 German miles or 60 Italian miles.

Now follows Ortelius' text of Orti48 in its first appearance of 1570, Latin version, describing Cyprus-Crete:

148.1. CYPRVS.

148.2. Cyprus ranks among the larger islands of the Mediterranean sea. As regards the shape of the entire island, one [side] is longer than the other. Its Metropolis and seat of its King is Nicosia. This city, as well as Famagusta, is the market place of the whole island, its harbour and it is rich through tolls. It is inferior to no other island, abounds with wine and olive oil, and has corn in abundance. It also has copper, as well as vitriol and copper rust which is used for medicinal purposes.

148.3. Sugar cane grows here, from which they distil sugar. Its wine, which may be compared to that of Crete, is potent. They also make camlets out of goat hair, in our present days called Zambelloto. It exports many products to other regions, by which the inhabitants make a considerable profit. It does not need much from others, and has a very pleasant temperature. The entire island has delicious things to offer: the women here are very lascivious.

148.4. According to Bordonius, the island is 427 miles in circumference, and is about two hundred miles long. The Venetians possess it by hereditary right, and their Praetor rules it. Ancient writers such as Strabo, Mela and other geographers celebrate it in their writings. From the recent writers we have Benedictus Bordonius in his work on the Islands of the world, Vadianus, Pope Pius II, Dominicus Niger, and particularly Iacobus Zieglerus. This Cyprus was always so exceedingly fertile that it was called Macaria, that is, the heavenly one, and it was so much given to luxury that it was credited with the name of the Goddess of Venus.

148.5. CANDIA, once called CRETE.

148.6. Crete, nowadays called Candia, is larger than Cyprus but of all islands in the Mediterranean only smaller than Sicilia and Sardinia, and it is inferior to none in nobility and fertility. Ancient writers inform us that it had once one hundred cities, but in the time of Plinius no more than forty, and nowadays, according to Bellonius, there are only three of any significance left, namely Candia of the Venetians, from which the island derives its name, and further Canea and Rhetimo.

148.7. The circumference of this island is 520 miles. It is everywhere mountainous, and for this reason its inhabitants are much addicted to hunting. It has no navigable rivers. It has no harmful animals. This island is famous and well known all over the world for its excellent wine, which the inhabitants call Malvasia, which is exported all over the world. The ancients called this wine Pramnium, according to Bellonius. Volaterranus thinks that it is called Arvisia, where I call it Malvisia, changing one letter, and he adds that it was introduced here from Arvisia, a cape near Chius, hence once called Arvisium. There is a great abundance here of cypress trees, used for building ships. And they grow so tall, as Dominicus Niger says, that there is nothing better for a human being to behold.

148.8. Nowadays, Crete is obedient to the Venetians. Iupiter was once worshipped here, because it was believed in antiquity that he was born here. Among the ancients, Strabo has diligently described it. Of the modern writers, [so did] Dominicus Niger, Volaterranus, Vadianus, Zieglerus & Benedictus Bordonius. But in our times, the best description can be found in Iodocus à Ghistele in his Itinerary to Jerusalem and in Bellonius' Observations, where he has described it most accurately. Iodocus à Meggen also has some relevant information in this respect, in his Peregrination to Jerusalem.

On the basis of a comparison of these two texts, we can make the following observations:

7.2.5 Similarities

Although De Jode had access to Ortelius' map texts, whereas Ortelius presumably did not have access to De Jode's texts of the *Speculum* which was kept off the market for what amounted effectively to eight years as we have just seen, De Jode did not make use of Ortelius' texts.

Similarities between the two texts are very scarce indeed. Looking first at the Cyprus text: the two main cities are described similarly as Nicosia and Famagusta. Both mention wine, oil and sugar cane and copper rust as its products. For the Candia map, both mention that it once had 100 cities, no navigable rivers, no harmful animals, Malvasian wine, and the birth of Jupiter. But this is where the similarities stop, and when we look at the differences listed below, it is in quite a few respects hard to believe that the two cartographers are discussing the same islands.

7.2.6 Differences

Specific subject matters discussed by Ortelius, but not by De Jode are for Cyprus: woven goat hair called Zambello as Cyprus' main export; Venetian rule; lascivious women after Cyprus' patroness Venus; numerous classical and contemporary sources. For Creta, Ortelius mentions the fact that ships are being built from cypress trees, Venetian rule, and again numerous sources. All these topics are not mentioned by De Jode.

Specific subject matters discussed by De Jode but not by Ortelius: derivation of the name of Cyprus, corn, hemp, cotton, silk and wool as products; regions of the island; the highest mountain in Europe; ship building as such, and locations with degrees. For Candia, De Jode mentions 8 more cities than Ortelius does, plus three mountain ranges, olive oil, cedar wood, berries, wax, honey, corn, herbs, sugar, and the herb Alimos. De Jode also mentions the labyrinth, the bordering seas, a day of fourteen and a half hours, and again locations with degrees. Further differences will be discussed after the next pair of texts.

7.2.7 Europe texts compared

Another pair of texts of these two cartographers, this time covering a larger area, first De Jode's Europe, (Van der Krogt 2003, Vol. III, map 1000:32A) and then Ortelius' Europe (Ort4, 1570 Latin version) may reveal other similarities and differences.

First De Jode's text of Europe [1000:32A]

1. Europe

Europe, the smallest of the five parts of the world, is both in terms of its large population, but even also concerning its fertility if not better, then certainly equal to the others, and must be compared with the best, for it is densely populated and very developed. And if one would even decide to judge the quality of its regions as regards their excellence or its own favourable circumstances for the care and development of the life of its animals and the prime needs of its people, then Europe would certainly in all kinds of ways seem to maintain its first position, for it is so blessed by the growth of all things, not only for the sustenance of life, but also as protection against illnesses, producing healing herbs of all kinds, enjoying the abundance of all kinds of the sweetest fruits, and large quantities of wine and corn.

2. Because it also provides for those who enjoy a more refined life, yielding matters in great abundance, so that none of these things which could be desired for human needs has to be looked for by others, unless one objects that it has no gems or herbs, yet such a person will not deny that the shortage of these matters will be compensated for by other matters which are not less useful, but which are also allowed by law to be used, by the great quantity or abundance in order that he profits most of the most temperate

and mildest air and sky. But either the Indies or Africa are said to be more blessed in their production of matters desired for a more refined kind of life: I regard this hardly as persuasive, yet those regions should not be preferred to these [here in Europe], and on top of this, the excellence of the regions does not concern the great amounts of useful things in this, but must be judged in the great numbers of those that make use [of what has been produced].

3. Asia is large and empty, having few inhabitants. Although Africa is somewhat smaller, it still exceeds Europe by a factor three, but as concerns inhabitants of this [part of the world], - it has only half the population [as compared to Europe] - , so that they are possessed by the land, rather than that they possess the land. And this is the main argument [for Europe's superiority], for its lack of [fertile lands], (particularly nowadays), as a result of which not a single piece of land, even when it is only blessed with limited fertility, remains untilled, considering the circumstance that [there are in Europe] the Rhiphaeus mountain range, and the Alps, white with eternal snow. Yet those [places] that are inhabited show more than strongly that this has been proved to be true.

4. But the remote regions of Asia and the large and savage [parts of] Africa which in no way serve the life of the living are covered with sand by the heat of the sun, desolate fields, and pitiful, so that those who visit them shrink back in horror. But this Europe, which may be small, is yet very well developed and very populous, in which respect, if in no other, it certainly surpasses either Asia, or Africa, [is] splendid and fully populated, except for a small part, which because of the damage caused by the cold can hardly, or only with great difficulty be inhabited, brings forth martial and strong people, tilling the fields and [building] cities, encompassing countries with well-formulated laws. [It is] very fertile with the best fruits, and even has all kinds of metals or minerals, and is rich in domesticated land animals, although it [also] feeds a of lot wild animals which are not less useful, yet, it displays an insignificant amount of harmful [animals]. And these matters [conclude] the excellence and greatness of the region of Europe.

5. It is almost on all sides bordered by the sea, except for the part facing eastward, where it has Asia as its neighbour, from which it is separated by the river Tanais, by the inhabitants also called Den [Don], Munster also calls it Altan, and Silis, and it does not have its source at the Northern [Hyperboreus] mountains, as some have put on record on the basis of testimonies of Mathias of Michou and Paulus Iovius with a length of two hundred thousand in the surroundings of Moscow, [but] where it has its spring no mountains are found. And drawing [a line] from there towards the Northern sea, it constitutes the eastern border [of Europe], and in the North it is washed by the German Ocean and the Hyperboreus, in the North-East [the isle of] Thule, and after the Scandinavian islands have been surrounded [by the sea] it is washed by the Deucaledonian Ocean.

6. From this point onwards, the British, Cantabrian and Aquitanian oceans wash the shores of the Orkney islands, the Hebrides [and] Albion or Great Britain. From there, in the western part of the Occident is surrounded by the Atlantic and Verginian ocean, to where it separates Mauretania from Spain and penetrates the Pillars of Hercules (now by the Spanish called Estrecho de Gibraltar) and there it is called the Mediterranean sea which in the South separates Africa from Europe, after it has surrounded various very important islands by which, (as Münster says) Europe is as it were ornated by a crown

with precious gems, and since that time one after the other is called by these names. For it is called Balearic and Sardinian and Sicilian [sea], Ligustic, Tyrrhenian or Nether sea below Italy. From here the Upper or Adriatic sea, and more towards the South the Punic and Libyan [sea], then the Aegean sea is followed by the Propontic sea and the Thracian Bosphorus, and in the East even the Black Sea, now called the Greater sea which is enclosed all the way to Taurica Chersonesis of the Cimmeri forming the Bosphorus, where it ends in Lake Maeotic [Sea of Azov] which, receiving the river Tanais, brings us back to where we started.

7. But two borders make the separation [from Asia] complete, one, close to the Asian borders, drawn by the water of the river Tanais to the Northern sea, the other, from the farthest mouth of the river Nile eastwards, close to the beginning of the Arab gulf, which is called the Red sea, a coast extending itself there. This entire part has a length, counted from the coastal areas of Lusitania [Portugal], namely from Ulissipona [Lisbon] [via] Constantinople to the utmost points of Greece of about 600 German miles, and almost as much in width where it is widest, seen from the isle of Sicily to Schrickfinia [Crefenna], to the most Northern points. Its most remarkable areas are Ireland and Scotland, which are included on the first map of Europe by Ptolemaeus.

8. The second is Spain. The third is France. The fourth map of Ptolemaeus includes Germany. The fifth has Rhetia, Vindelica, Noricum, the two Pannonies, Illyria, and Dalmatia, nowadays Slovenia, Carinthia, Bosnia, Croatia, and Cornatia. The sixth and seventh maps of Ptolemaeus contain Italy, Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. The eighth [has] European Sarmatia, now divided into many kingdoms such as Poland, Lithuania, Moscovia, Livonia, Podolia and Russia. The ninth Ptolemaeus map includes Taurica Chersonesus [Krim], Iazyges, Metanastae, Dacia, the two Misias and Thracia. Now these are called Raska, Servia, Transsylvania, Bulgaria and Valachia. The tenth map contains Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, Euboea, the Peloponnesus and Crete, now the isle of Candia. And the regions unknown to Ptolemaeus, [viz.] Dacia, Norway, & the Kingdom of Sweden. And these matters we have discussed about Europe suffice.

Then Ortelius' text of Europe (Ort4):

4.1. EUROPA

4.2. Why EUROPA should be called as it is, and who was the first author of this name, nobody has yet found out; unless, says Herodotus in his fourth book, we should think that the whole region borrowed its name from Tyria Europa. Plinius calls her the Nurse of the victorious people who conquer all other nations of the world, most beautiful and far surpassing the rest; and thus it is sometimes compared to Asia and Africa, not for its size and extension, but for its mighty power. It is certain that this part of the world, most plentifully inhabited, is for a multitude of nations inferior to neither of the other continents.

4.3. The North and the Western shores of this continent are washed by the ocean; the South coast is separated from Africa by the Mediterranean Sea. Then Eastwards, its shores are washed by the Ægæan sea, now called Archipelago, by the Black Sea, named at this time Mar Maggiore, by lake Mæotis, now termed Mar della Zabacche, by the river Tanais, commonly called Don, and by the Isthmus or straights of the main land, which

is from the head or source of this river directly to the North Ocean; this is separate from Asia, according to Glareanus. Thus, it has the shape of a peninsula as is manifest from the map itself. Its head Rome was once the ruler of the earth.

Its regions, (as we now call them), are Spain, Gallia, Germany, Italy, Slavonia, Greece, Hungary, Poland with Lithuania, Moscovia or rather Russia and its peninsula on which Norway, Sweden & Goth land. Of its islands we should first mention England, Ireland, Groenland, [and] Frisland, situated in the Nordic Ocean. In the Mediterranean sea you find Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Candia, Majorca, Minorca, Corfu, [and] Negropontus, and further others of less significance, of which you find the names and locations on the map itself.

4.4. This Europe of ours, besides the Roman Empire which is held in reverence all over the World, has all in all twenty-eight Christian Kingdoms (including those fourteen which Damianus à Goes already counts in Spain alone). This will allow you to estimate the worthiness of this region. It is a place extraordinary fruitful, and the natural disposition of the weather is very temperate. In all sorts of grain, wines, and in its abundance of wood, it is inferior to none, but comparable to the best of others.

4.5. It is so pleasant, so beautified with stately cities, towns and villages that for the courage and valour of its people and nations, although it may be less in quantity and size than other continents, yet it might well be considered, as has indeed been done by all ancient writers, as superior to all other parts of the world. Most renowned has it also become because of the Greek empire, and the great dominance and power of the Romans. The praise of that empire you may read in Strabo, who in his third book, and seven following books, has described it in the most excellent and learned manner. Also consult other ancient geographers.

4.6. More recently, writers, amongst whom Volaterranus, Sebastian Münster, Dominicus Niger, Georgius Rithaymerus, in their Geographies have also endeavoured to paint Europe in its colours. But Pius the second, Christophorus and Ancelmus Cellæ, have described it as a part by itself.

4.7. Various annotations about Europe concerning roads, as well as distances, have appeared in book form written by Cherubinus Stella, Ioannes Herbaceus, and Georgius Meyerus. Something similar has been done by Guilielmus Gratarolus at the end of his book, which is entitled *De regimine iter agentium*, [A guide for travellers].

7.2.8 Style

What strikes the reader in De Jode's Europe text is that it is repetitive, written in rather coarse, bumpy and often ungrammatical Latin which I have tried to maintain in my translation. De Jode's (or rather Cellarius') command of Latin is very limited indeed. Moreover, he is not able to tell a story that captivates the reader and his style is inferior to that of Ortelius.

7.2.9 Similarities

Both authors argue in their Europe text that this is the most important part of the world in terms of its population and the significance of its nations, cities, courage, valour and overall significance (which is also expressed in Ortelius' allegorical title page where Europe rules as the queen over the other parts of the world) if not in size. They both praise its mild and temperate air, its wine, corn and wood, to which De Jode adds its metals and minerals.

Table 7.1 Comparison of sources mentioned by De Jode and Ortelius for the map texts of Cyprus/Creta and Europe.

De Jode map texts	Number of different sources	Number of quotes	Ortelius map texts	Number of different sources	Number of quotes
Cyprus/Crete	3	3	Ort148	14	35
Europe	4	8	Ort4	15	15
Total number of references	7	11		29	50

7.2.10 Differences

Ortelius mentions Tyria Europa as the source for the name of this part of the world. He describes Europe from North to West to South to East, and lists most of the islands in the Nordic sea or Atlantic. He also lists the 28 kingdoms of which Europe consists, and gives quite a few classical and contemporary bibliographic and cartographic sources, specifically as regards roads and distances, but he does not describe Europe's size.

De Jode does not comment on Europe's name, and describes it from East to North to West to South. He only mentions Münster and Ptolemaeus as his sources, listing areas as described in Ptolemaeus' maps. He notes that Africa has half of Europe's population, and particularly that Asia has even fewer inhabitants than that, which is clearly incorrect. De Jode describes Europe's size, though he provides no longitude and latitude data here.

7.2.11 References

We have already noted that De Jode's *Catalogus Auctorum* is insignificant, compared to that of Ortelius. Is it also true that fewer references to bibliographical and cartographical sources are given by De Jode than is the case for Ortelius? To answer this question, let us examine the two maps just discussed, summarised in this respect in table 7.1.

It is clear that Ortelius uses more than four times as many sources and gives almost five times as many quotes as De Jode does, this in spite of the fact that his map texts are much shorter.

As noted above, in 1593 a second, expanded edition of the *Speculum* appeared, this time not with texts by Cellarius, but with an introduction and texts by Gerard de Jode's son Cornelis. How do the texts of the 1578 and the 1593 editions of the *Speculum* compare? For the new maps that were introduced in the 1593 editions, texts were presumably written by Cornelis. Insofar as these new texts were written for maps also occurring in Ortelius' *Theatrum*, we find as little resemblance here as we did for the 1578 edition. Maps which are similar or identical in the 1578 and the 1593 *Speculum* also have similar or identical texts. In those cases where new maps replaced old ones, (e.g. Europe, Holland), they retained the old texts. New texts in the 1593 edition are generally longer than those of the 1578 edition. All texts are much longer than the comparable texts written by Ortelius.

The *Catalogus Auctorum* of the 1593 edition is identical with that of the 1578 edition in content, layout and even spelling mistakes, e.g. *Thomas Procachus* for *Tomaso Porcacchi*. It is quite evident, both from De Jode's *Catalogus Auctorum* and from his map texts that there is nothing comparable to Ortelius' constant revisions and expansions of his texts to be found in the De Jode atlases.

7.2.12 Conclusion

Although De Jode has a reputation for making more accurate maps even if their engraving is clearly more crude, his map texts *on verso* are mostly different, much longer and yet in many respects less informative than those of Ortelius. As also appears in his very brief *Catalogus Auctorum*, De Jode gives very few if any sources in his map texts although the texts are almost twice as long. On the other hand, leaving the texts and turning to the maps, of the 65 maps contained in his *Speculum*, no less than 60 contain longitude and latitude information about places in the area depicted, whereas Ortelius does not give such information on any of his 53 map sheets.

It may be justified to say that Ortelius, as may be expected from a historiographer, stresses the history of the places, areas and people described, whereas De Jode has a more geographical and statistical approach. Again, in De Jode's 1593 edition of his atlas, there is little similarity between the texts written by Ortelius and those by De Jode, and there are no evident examples in the texts discussed, or in other De Jode texts for that matter, where he clearly follows Ortelius as his example. Whether this is caused by the animosity which developed between these two atlas makers as discussed, or is perhaps based on other considerations cannot be established with certainty. However, one thing is certain: as a historiographer, Ortelius was much more intimately familiar with classical and contemporary sources than is the case for De Jode.

7.3 Comparison between the map texts written by Bouguereau and Ortelius

Bouguereau, who died in 1595, published the first atlas, *Le Théâtre François*, devoted to France and some of its provinces, in Tours in 1594. It contains 15 maps of which, according to F. de Dainville⁴, 3 are original designs by Bouguereau, 1 after other French sources, 4 after Ortelius and 2 after Mercator. In fact the number of maps which are close copies of Ortelius maps, mentioning the same cartographical source is 7 (presented first below), and the number of maps in Bouguereau of which Ortelius made close copies is 2 (presented last below), viz.:

Map 2: France by Postel (after Ort35)⁵

Map 3: Picardia by Surhonijs (after Ort46)

Map 4: Caletensium-Veromanduorum Descr. by Nicolai Delphinatus – Surhonijs (after Ort45)

Map 8: Biturigum-Limaniae Descr. by Ioannes Calamaeus – Gabriel Symeoni (after Ort39)

Map 10: Poictou (after Ort38)

Map 12: Touraine by Isaac François (after Ort42)

Map 14: Anjou by Lezin Guyet (after Ort40)

Map 9: Lemovicum Descr. by Jean Fayen (later used by Ortelius as Ort43b)

Map 11: Blaisois by Jean du Temps (later used by Ortelius as Ort43a)

Ortelius undoubtedly owned a copy of this atlas and, as noted above, used two of its maps, viz. Lemovicum and Blaisois, including them in his *Theatrum* in reduced format as Ort43ab and mentioning their designers who were also included in the *Catalogus Auctorum*, whereas he did not include Bouguereau himself in the *Catalogus*. Below, we will not only compare texts of maps which Bouguereau took over from Ortelius, but also the two maps which Ortelius took over from Bouguereau (Schilder, 2003, Vol. VII, p. 382–383).

7.3.1 Poitou texts compared

First, we present the Bouguereau map text of Poitou (map 10).

1. Poitou

2. The land of Poitou, the main cities here, its extension and borders, its ancient name and origin, and other notable matters.

3. Caesar, in the eighth book of his French War, and also Ptolemaeus, call the main city of the Pictonians *Augustorium*. And Strabo, following him, says that towards the ocean there are the inhabitants of Xaintonge and the Poictevins, also to show the difference which there is between the Picts and the Pictonians, for the Pictonians were here a long time before the Picts, whereas authors telling fables want us to believe that the Picts were the predecessors of the Pictonians. These matters just mentioned above amply demonstrate that the Pictonians and Poitiers were founded before the Picts ever came to them. This is the reason why you find nothing with certainty about who first imposed the names of Poitiers and Pictonians and we maintain that in their age they go back for many more centuries than the Picts.

4. Let us say that Poitou borders on Armorica, that is Bretagne, and part of Aquitaine, and its extension from south to north which is from Limousin to the countship of Nantes, and in breadth from east to west which is from Berry all the way to the sea towards Saint Michel and l'Her. In Poitou towards the east there are the rivers Creuse and Vienne, which separate it [Poitou] from Touraine and Berry. In the south there are L'Engoulmois and Limosin, in the north still Touraine and part of the land of the Bretons and in the west is the ocean sea. And thus the river Creuse, and then going towards l'Engoulmois the border is at Ruffec, comprising twenty-six miles from one to the other. Towards Limosin it extends until the countship of Bridiers, which pays taxes to Poitou. And this area extends further to three miles from Nantes. Thus the length of this land, when traversing it amounts to more than a hundred French miles, and contains at least twelve hundred villages within three bishoprics.

5. There [in Poitou] you find the most beautiful presidential seat of France, with its marshal, general, civilian, criminal and private lieutenants, a questioner, twelve counsellors, the conservator of the privileges of this ancient university, which was founded by Charles the Seventh in the year 1431, and renders this city famous all over Europe. And under this seat have been placed the seats of Lusignan, Châtelleraut, Mommorillon, Lower Marche, Dorat which comprises part of Limosin & Berry, Fontenay-le-Comte, Niort, Civray and Saint Maixent. The Poictevins were converted to Christianity by Saint Martial and they have had 94 bishops since Nectarie until the present bishop Geoffroy of S. Belain.

6. In the year 1361, under Pope Johannes, the 22nd with that name, the bishopric of Poitiers was divided into three parts, namely outer Poitiers, Maillezais, and Luçon. As regards its rulers, this land has first been governed by kings and dukes, like all of France and Aquitania, but matters became disordered until the time that the interests of the kings of France opposed to leaving their lands in the hands of local captains surveying them, in order to strengthen the establishment of the crown.

Next the Ortelius text of Poitou:

38.1. PICTAVIA/POITOV.

38.2. Among the people of *Aquitania* some are called *Pectones* by *Ptolemæus* and *Plinius*. By *Cæsar* and *Strabo* [they are called] *Pictones*, with an *i* in the first syllable, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [calls them] *Pictavi*. *Ausonius* calls the country *Pictonica* region, but later writers call it in Latin *Pictavia*. The inhabitants in their own language call themselves *Poictevins*, the region *Poitou*, and the main city *Poitiers* which perhaps is the same as *Ptolemæus'* *Augustoritum*. The opinion of those who say it was thus named after the Picts I consider altogether a fable, for from the classical writers it is clear that *Pictones* is a more ancient name than *Picti*. *Poitou* is now divided into Lower and Upper Poitou. Lower *Poitou* we call that [region] which ends westwards at the sea of *Aquitàigne*, and Upper [Poitou], which lies eastwards towards *Tourain* and *Berry*. South, it borders on *Xantoigne*, *Angoulême* and *Limousin*, and North on *Bretagne* and *Anjou*.

38.3. It is a country most fertile for corn and cattle, rich in wheat and wine, and abounding with fish. [Of] wild fowl and beasts there are plenty, and for that reason there is much hunting and hawking and fishing.

38.4. This region contains 1200 dioceses or rather parishes under three bishoprics, namely *Poitiers*, *Luçon* and *Maillezais* as they are commonly called. The main cities next to these are, as the inhabitants call them, *La-Roche-sur-Yon*, *Talmont*, *Meroil*, *Vouvant*, *Mervant*, *Bressuire*, *Lodun* [and] *Fontenay-le-Conte*, all of which are in Upper *Poitou*. In the Lower there are *Niort*, *Partenay*, *Tours*, *Moncontour*, *Hernault*, *Mirambeau*, *Châtelleraudt* &c. The head of all these is *Poitiers* which next to *Paris* is the main city of all *France*, and is mostly surrounded by the river *Clain*. The antiquity of this town becomes sufficiently clear from its [Amphi]Theatre (commonly called *Arenas*) as also from the palace of *Gallienus*, and the arches of water conducts still extant, which the inhabitants call *Arceaux de Parigné*, all [of] which are monuments of the Roman government of this place.

38.5. However, before their arrival this city was located on another plot of ground, as may be gathered from the writings of *Ammonius* and *Adonis*, for they mention a place called Old *Poitiers*, where the division was made between the kingdoms of *Charlemagne* and *Pepin*, king of the Franks. Also on this map at the very same river *Clain* towards *Châtelleraudt* you may see a place called *Vieux Poitiers*, that is to say *Old Poitiers*. The town of *Talmont* or rather *Talon du Monde* [The heel of the world] is so called by the French because it stands at the utmost border of this country towards the ocean, and therefore it was to be considered the most extreme part of the world.

38.6. Opposite the shore of Poitou are these islands: *Oleron* (by *Plinius* called *Uliarius*) at the mouth of the river *Charente*, called *Charentonus fluvius* by *Ausonius*, and *Canentelum* by *Ptolemæus*. [Also] *L'Isle de Rez*, opposite *La Rochelle*, abounding with wine after which it has been named. [Then] the isle of *Noir* or *Marmonstier*, which yields plenty of salt. [Then] the isle of *Aulonne* which on this map is rather a peninsula. It abounds with wine and salt, as does another small island called *Chavet*.

38.7. The map also presents to you *L'Isle de Dieu* or *God's isle*, and one which is called *Notre-dame de Bovin*. [It is] by Saint *Hillary*, the apostle of *Aquitàigne*, [as] ecclesiastical writers say, that this region was converted to Christianity. A more exact description of

it may be found in the *Cosmography of Belleforest*, who will refer you from himself to *Ioannes Bouchet's Chronicle of Aquitaine*.

38.8. Something you may learn from *Antonius Pinetus'* description of Cities. *Thevet's* *Cosmography* should also be consulted. *Ioannes de la Haye* also wrote a specific treatise in French about this region.

The text of Bouguereau, of which we have not presented the last half, which consists of local genealogy and poetry, is about three times as long as Ortelius' text as is the case for almost every pair of texts, but apart from the first paragraph discussing the relation between the Poitevins and the Picts, there is no textual similarity at all.

In order to save space, we will refrain from presenting the Bouguereau and Ortelius texts on France, Picardie, Berry and Limagne, Calais and Boulogne, Touraine and Anjou. Having inspected these texts, let it suffice to say that again we hardly find any similarities, but mostly differences. What do the differences consist of?

Ortelius discusses etymology, relations between languages, quotes from (mostly) classical authors where his source is always mentioned, and a variety of other subjects as we have seen in previous chapters.

Bouguereau mostly restricts himself to recent local history, gives many place names and characteristics of these places and their products, laudatory poems by local poets, judicial and legal relations between provinces and central government, and so on.

Having established that Bouguereau hardly copies any text from Ortelius, the question arises whether Ortelius used any information provided in the texts of the two maps which he took over from Bouguereau. This also turns out to be hardly the case. On the map of Limousin, Ortelius copies the poem of Blanchon, of course mentioning his source, where Muret is presented as the local Demosthenes, Dorat as Homerus and Fayen as its Archimedes, but the map text is quite dissimilar.

Table 7.2 Carto-bibliographical sources mentioned by Bouguereau and Ortelius.

Bouguereau map texts	Number of different sources	Number of quotes	Ortelius map texts	Number of different sources	Number of quotes
France (Postel)	2	4	Ort35	1	1
Picardie	2	2	Ort46	3	3
Calais-Vernandois	10	14	Ort44	12	16
Berry-Limagne	0	0	Ort39	5	10
Touraine	6	7	Ort42	5	5
Poitou	3	3	Ort38	13	16
Anjou	1	1	Ort40	3	4
Total number of references	24	31		42	55

Table 7.2 states how many quotes from which author each cartographer included in his text, bearing in mind that Bouguereau's texts⁶ per map are at least three times as long as those written by Ortelius.

It is clear that Ortelius mentions almost twice as many sources as Bouguereau does and that his number of quotes is also much higher. For the France (Postel) map of Ortelius (Ort35), of which only about 10 copies are known, most copies have no text at all and were apparently printed as loose sheets, not intended to be included in an atlas. Only 2 copies have the text normally given to Ortelius' copy of the Jolivet map of France, the map of France which was the standard one in the *Theatrum* until well after his death and used in this table (Ort34). The Jolivet France map was in 1606 replaced by Vrients with a copy of the Plancius map (Ort36) which also occurs in the Bouguereau atlas.

Summarising our findings, we can say that the exchange of information between Ortelius and Bouguereau and vice versa was restricted primarily to the maps and the mentioning of their original designers. As for the rest, the authors of the *on verso* texts clearly had different intentions and different methodologies, resulting in different texts. Ortelius tries in every instance to establish links between the area under discussion and the ideas classical authors had about this area. Bouguereau apparently had little interest in or knowledge of the classical geographical literature, refers to 'our cosmographers' without mentioning any except Belleforest, and discussed the areas depicted in his atlas from a local or at best national point of view. References to local state and church history and wars, some starting in Roman antiquity, but most of them discussing very recent history are plentiful in Bouguereau, but references to sources upon which he bases these historical surveys are mostly lacking.

7.4 Comparison between the map texts written by Mercator and Ortelius

Although Mercator (1512-1594) was 15 years older than Ortelius, they developed a cordial relationship during Ortelius' first journey to the Frankfurter book fair around 1545, when he was merely 18 years old. In his *Catalogus Auctorum* Ortelius calls him "the Ptolemaeus of our time". The well-documented biography by Nicholas Crane (2002) provides a wealth of information on this subject to which we refer the reader. Mercator's contemporary biographer Ghim (1530-1611) speaks of his relation with Ortelius as follows⁷:

He [Mercator] had conceived certain ideas for his work concerning the publication of other general and particular maps long before Abraham Ortelius and had resolved to set out the situation of the whole world in a smaller format [than his previous wall map] and had described with his pen a number of examples, measuring the distances between places in correct proportion, so that nothing more remained to be done than to engrave them in brass. However, since the said Ortelius was so closely bound to him in singular friendship and familiarity, he put off the work, as yet unfinished, until Ortelius had sold copies of his world map in the *Theatrum* in a very large quantity, to his great gain in riches and fortune, before Mercator would publish his aforesaid small maps. But lest he cheat the expectations of many learned men in vain hope any longer, he arranged

and ordered his affairs so as to have the general maps of France and Germany here in Duisburg in 1585

Mercator himself mentions Ortelius only on page 112 (left side) of his 1595 atlas in the following text⁸:

Based on this foundation [i.e. longitudes and latitudes in degrees, minutes and sometimes even tenths of minutes] I have followed the best descriptions available in delineating the regions. In this, the distinguished surveyor and most skilled geographer of the King of Spain, Christian Sgroth, was of great assistance to me. He has traversed many regions and described them more amply and exactly than others. In addition, Abraham Ortelius, the most diligent geographer of that same majesty, and candour and humaneness itself, generously shared with me whatever maps he has found, as though he were a partner with me in the same undertaking.

From 1573 onwards, all Latin editions of Ortelius' *Theatrum* contain the following recommendation (cf. Hessels, 1887, letter 32, p.73) written by Mercator:

Duisburg, Wednesday, 22 November 1570

To the illustrious man Mr. Abraham Ortelius, with great love for my Antwerp friend.

I have examined your *Theatrum* and compliment you on the care and elegance with which you have embellished the labours of the authors, and the faithfulness with which you have preserved the production of each individual, which is essential in order to bring out the geographical truth, which is so corrupted by mapmakers who are totally ignorant about geography, while they, without any order, without distinguishing between false and deformed maps and real and true representations, put them together in one collection. Thus, the maps published in Italy are especially bad, in which the later ones, sometimes drawn by one and the same author, are worse than the early ones, and if all authors would follow this principle, this would finally result in a geography where all misunderstandings have been covered and hidden. Hence you deserve great praise for having selected the best descriptions of each region and collected them into one manual as it were, which can be bought at a small cost, kept in a small space and even carried about wherever we please. I hope you will add some recent works, for instance those of Lazijs describing the hereditary dominions of the king of Hungary [in the margin:] These works have been inserted in this edition [end of insertion], published by the Vienna bookseller Joh. Maior and some other things. For your work will (I strongly believe) always remain saleable, whatever maps depicting various regions may be reprinted by others; this is why old-fashioned reliability will always prevail, even when not perfect in every instance. That you prefer me to other recent authors, I regard as due to your partiality for me, and I would not claim such reliability, as there are many who have made more learned maps, though perhaps fewer in number than I have. And what will you do when these contradict your opinions? The reliability of your work will be sufficient defence for what you offer, but not mine – I cannot be the judge of my own work – which, if you win, will be your

victory, not mine, for by necessity, when you show and demonstrate superb excellence, this can only result from your own merits. Allow me to speak, or rather gossip with you thus affectionally. I thank you much for your goodwill and I shall always be ready to do what I can for you. Be well. Truly yours, Gerardus Mercator.

Other letters from Mercator to Ortelius (Hessels, 1887, letters 38, 99 & 287) deal mostly with information about maps or exchanges of maps. So far, no letters from Ortelius to Mercator have been found.

Ortelius' *Itinerarium* (1584)⁹ reporting his journey with Vivianus, Scholiers and van Schille to Nancy, Koblenz and Frankfurt which took place in 1575, is a report addressed to Mercator, who in this way becomes a virtual travel companion.

The *Album Amicorum* (Puraye & Delcourt, 1969, p. 115) of Ortelius contains a portrait of Mercator originally drawn by Goltzius after Hogenberg (see figure 7.1 below) with the following text above it:

What is most excellent in the world.

To the most learned man Mr. Abraham Ortelius | Royal Geographer, very close friend for a long time, | and loved dearly, Gerardus Mercator has written this | as a token of perpetual friendship. | Duisburg, October 1, 1575.

On the basis of all these contemporary sources, it is clear that Ortelius and Mercator had a very close friendship which lasted until their death, that they were very well informed about what the other was doing, and that there was a lively interchange between the two concerning maps and information on maps, this in spite of the fact that Mercator had already moved to Duisburg by the time Ortelius published the first edition of his *Theatrum* in 1570. Let us now turn to their *on verso* texts.

Mercator did not live to see his atlas published. His son Rumold published it a year after his death, in 1595. However, the instalments of France, Germany and the Low Countries had already been published by Mercator in Duisburg in 1585, and the instalment containing Italy, Slavonia and Greece was published in 1589, and these instalments were again included as book II in the 1595 edition, which also contained as book I the World and continents, the North Pole, Iceland, Great Britain and its parts, Norway, Denmark, Prussia, Livonia, Russia, Lithuania, Transsylvania and the Black Sea. The first part of the Atlas has a 36,000 word essay 'On the Creation and Fabric of the World', which according to Karrow (2000, introduction to digital facsimile) is 'essentially a gloss on the first chapter of Genesis. Just as heavens proclaim the glory of God, the sublunary world, too, can be a book of praise'. Quoting from the *Prolegomena* (Chapter 1) of Mercator's philosophical introduction (translation by David Sullivan):

For this is our goal while we treat of Cosmography: that from the marvellous harmony of all things toward God's sole end, and the unfathomable providence in their composition, God's wisdom will be seen to be infinite, and his goodness inexhaustible.

*Suprema mundi optima .
Doctissimo viro D. Abrahamo Ortelio,
Geographo Regio, longe amiciss: Et di
lectissimo Gerardus Mercator in
symbolum perpetue amicitie scripsit.*

*Duisburgi 5. Kal. Octob.
1575.*



Figure 7.1 Mercator's contribution to Ortelius' Album Amicorum.

Karrow continues: “Not only in the myriad minutiae of creation, but even in the broad disposition of land forms, God’s hand can be seen”. This is supported by the following quote from Chapter 10, Mercator’s introduction:

This too should be observed, how great the creator’s prudence was in hollowing out those recesses, the receptacles of the waters, for he so distributed the seas throughout the whole world that all the kingdoms of the world could carry on trade among themselves and transport anywhere whatever nature or art should give them.

The second part of the Atlas contains the maps.

7.4.1 Similarities between the *on verso* texts by Mercator and Ortelius

For those map texts by Mercator that do contain narrative prose, we find some scattered remarks which clearly derive from Ortelius’ map texts. Thus, Rumold Mercator’s world map of 1587/1595 (Van der Krogt [0001:1A], Shirley 157), based on Gerard Mercator’s map, but with a different projection method, contains below the map an engraved text discussing the various climate zones, as is also the case in Ortelius’ *Parergon* world map (Ort186).

Mercator mentions far fewer sources than Ortelius does, and those cartographic and bibliographic sources that are mentioned both by Mercator and Ortelius, are chiefly contemporary, e.g.: Camerarius, Cognatus, Cureus, Gadner, Guicciardini, Lazius, Münster and Simler.

The only two map texts which allow a meaningful comparison are those of Salzburg. We first present Mercator’s text [Van der Krogt map 2720:1A.1]:

The Archbishop of Salzburg.

After Bishop Rupert of Worms, (who was of the royal family of the Franks) was driven from his see on the death of King Childebert around 540 A.D., he went to Ravensburg to duke Theodorus of Bavaria, and instructed and baptised him. With his consent, he converted and dedicated many to Christ as he wandered through Noricum. Coming on the desolate ruins of Juvavia, a place suitable for a bishopric, he built a basilica there in honour of St. Peter and added a monastery of the order of St. Benedict, from which afterwards many abbots have been called to the lofty eminence of bishop. There he ruled the Episcopal church for forty-four years, dying in 623 A.D. This information comes from Sebastian Münster. I have no information on the nobility and state of this jurisdiction. The meridians are placed according to the ratio of the parallel 47:10 to the great circle.

Then Ortelius’ text (Ort107), vernacular version:

107.14. Salzburg’s bishopric.

107.15. Among the five bishoprics of the land of Bavaria this is the best one. It is entirely located in the mountains, and is full with all kinds of mines such as for gold, silver, copper, iron, nitrate, sulphur, alum, antimony and beautiful marble. At Berchtesgaden

and Reyenhal which belong to this bishopric are salt mines, as also near Salzburg itself, from which it is considered to have derived its name, although others say that it is named after the river Salz which flows there. Formerly this city was called Iuvavia after the river Iuvavius. (Aventinus says Ptolemæus calls this city Poedicum). Around it, you find many mountains, fields and pastures.

107.16. About the founding of this city Münster speaks as follows: Iulius Cæsar has at this spot (to conquer the Germans from this direction) built a strong castle and named it Castrum Iuvavense, that is to say Helpenburg, because the Roman garrisons could find refuge and help here. This castle expanded gradually into a city and was named after the castle Iuvavia. He says that he does not know when it changed its name. It has later been destroyed and burnt down by Attila, king of the Huns. After that, in the year 580 it was rebuilt (and possibly received a new name). In the year of our Lord 612 St. Rupert, born of royal descent, bishop of Worms, came to Bavaria. He turned to the Christian faith and baptised in Regensburg the duke of Teudo with his entire group of courtiers, and many common people, and he continued to preach the gospel throughout the land.

107.17. Finally arriving in Salzburg, and perceiving that this place was suitable for a bishop's see, he built a church there with the consent of the duke, in honour of St. Peter, and also a monastery of the Order of St. Benedictus. In this place he was by the duke appointed as bishop, an appointment which he had for 44 years. The bishopric was later promoted to an archbishopric.

It is clear that the obvious similarities between these two texts do not so much indicate that Mercator used Ortelius' text, but rather that they took similar facts from their common source viz. Sebastian Münster.

The only other example of similarities between *on verso* texts written by Mercator and Ortelius is the list of place names at the end of the Bohemia text, which are first given in Czech, and then in German. The list of place names is identical, and their order is almost identical. But again, we are dealing here with a list which both cartographers derived from Münster, as was also the case for the *on verso* text of Salzburg.

7.4.2 Dissimilarities between the *on verso* texts by Mercator and Ortelius

Not only does the map content of Mercator's (1595) atlas differ from that of Ortelius, the texts, and there are over 400 text pages in the atlas, are very different as well. Most maps contain lists with geographical coordinates only, sometimes augmented by the geographical distribution of all kinds of nobility, feudal lineages, political borders, local jurisdiction and political organisation, ecclesiastical matters, civil and administrative structures etc. However, in similarity to the De Jode map texts, we also find very numerous references to the location of place names in degrees and minutes, and more general information on meridians and parallels. *On verso* texts in narrative, well-formed prose such as we are used to see in Ortelius' *Theatrum* are almost entirely lacking. The continents have no map texts *on verso* at all.

We must conclude that in spite of the cordial relationship between Ortelius and Mercator, no *on verso* texts written by Ortelius were used by Mercator. Since the Mercator maps were subsequently used but also much expanded by Hondius, we will now examine the Hondius texts.

7.5 Comparison between the map texts written by Hondius/Janssonius and Ortelius

Jodocus or Joost Hondius the elder (1563–1612) was an engraver and instrument maker from Wakken, Flanders, who settled in London in 1583 and married Colette van den Keere, sister of Pieter van den Keere or Kaerius. He acquired Gerard Mercator's atlas plates in 1604, added new ones, and re-issued his atlas, commonly known as the Mercator-Hondius atlas in 1606. Many subsequent editions in various languages and with an ever increasing number of maps appeared until 1666. New texts for these editions were written by Petrus Montanus or Pieter van den Berg (1560–1625)¹⁰, husband of Hondius' sister Jacomina.

Jan Jansz, printer, publisher and bookseller of Arnhem started collaboration with Hondius in 1606. His son, also called Jan Jansz., but better known as Janssonius (1588–1664), in 1612 married Elisabeth Hondius, daughter of Jodocus and Colette, continued cooperation with the Hondius family, and around the time that Henricus Hondius, brother of Elisabeth, left the map trade, Janssonius completely revised the Mercator-Hondius atlas, the result of which was the *Atlas Novus* which was published in 1638, and which finally culminated in his 11 volume *Atlas Maior* with editions in Latin, French, Dutch, German and English (Van der Krogt, 1997 Vol. I, 755pp.). We will now examine some texts of the Mercator-Hondius atlas and compare these to the texts written by Ortelius.

7.5.1 Europe texts compared

Let us first present the text *on verso* of the Europe map (Van der Krogt 1000:1D.1-4, own possession #4424), as translated from the French Mercator-Hondius atlas of 1633 [Van der Krogt atlas C1:311].

Europe.

[in left margin] The excellence of Europe. [end margin text]

1. It is without doubt that in the old world Europe surpasses Asia and Africa, having many advantages. Plinius calls it the nurse of people that has triumphed over all other nations, and it is the most beautiful part of the world. For regarding the temperature of the air, the nature of the soil, the generosity of the region or if you consider the multitude of people, characterised by all kinds of decent and courteous people, and considering their excellent undertakings, they have become the masters of all who have occupied it until the present moment, you will find that all other nations of the world are in awe of them, and do not approach them at all in excellence. Asia is characterised by three cities: Babylon, Ninive and Jerusalem. Africa only by Carthago. America has now only three cities of any significance. But Europe takes the prize, for it is so densely inhabited and flourishing that the other regions only seem to be deserts and barren grounds compared to it.

2. For apart from its great and beautiful cities, numerous mountains and rivers, it is provided with all the necessities of life. This is no mean glory for it, for it is also the mother and nurse of liberal and mechanical arts. This would never have happened, if you allow me, unless there was justice and order, which is well maintained, and results from well-established and fair laws, the just government of kingdoms and republics, the

excellence of the Christian faith which is most flourishing in this part of the world. It is also the result of the marvellous discipline exercised by its armies. The power of the rulers of Europe is such that nowadays the people of Asia, Africa and America have great respect for their sceptres, and put themselves in obedience to them.

3. [in margin:] The borders. [end margin text] As regards its borders in the East which separate it from Asia, nothing is quite certain. For those who indicate as the border the river Tanais are gravely mistaken, and so are those who assert that they take as its border the Rhiphaean and Scythian mountains, not far from the Sarmatian Ocean, and others consider the border to be the place where the river Petzora pierces through the mountains, and passes through. Others consider the border to be the Isthmus or piece of land between Pontus Euxinus and the Caspian Sea, and believe this sea to have been part of the Ocean which entered where the river Ob has a wide mouth. To know the true borders which separate Europe from Asia you must take first the Aegean Sea, then the Hellespont, the Propontides, the Bosphorus of Thracia, the Black Sea, the Bosphorus of Cimmeria, Lake Meotides, and then you must take the river Tanais, now called the Don, and follow it upstream until you arrive at the meandering at the city of Thuia, and there, drawing a line from the nearest bank of the river Ob to the Glacial Sea and all this northern coast or bank which runs from west to east, until you reach the mouth of the river Ob which still belongs to Sarmatian Europe. On the south side it is bordered by the Mediterranean sea, the straights of Gibraltar, and part of the Atlantic. On the west side you have the Atlantic or western Ocean as Europe's border, and on the north side the Glacial Sea. In width it extends from the Cape of Spain or Cabo S. Vincent all the way to the mouth of the river Ob, about 900 German miles. In length from the extremity of the Peloponnesus to the Cape of Finmarcken called Rutubas, nowadays commonly called North Cape about 550 miles.

4. [in margin:] Countries. [end margin text]. The countries of Europe are partly on the main land, and are partly isles or peninsulas. The countries on the main land are Spain, France, Germany, Italy, Sclavonia, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Prussia, Russia under which is comprised Moscovia. The peninsulas or almost isles are Norway, and Sweden, the land of the Goths. The islands in the Ocean are England, Scotland, and Hibernia or Ireland, which are the largest. There are other ones that are smaller, such as the Orcades, which are 30 in number, and the Hebrides, of which there are 64. There are other islands close to Great Britain such as Mona, mostly called Anglesey, then Vectis, Jersey and Guernsey, close to the coast of France. In the Mediterranean Sea you have Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Creta, nowadays called Candia, Maiorca and Minorca, together with an infinite number of other, smaller islands. Ptolemaeus has depicted Europe in ten maps, beginning in the West and going towards the East. His first map is Ireland and Albion, with its neighbouring smaller islands. The second is Spain. The third is France. The fourth is Greater Germany. The fifth is the land of the Grisons [Graubünden], Bavaria, Hungary and Slavonia. The sixth is Italy and Corsica. The seventh is Sardinia and Sicily. The eighth is European Sarmatia and Chersonesus to Mount Taurus. The ninth is Walachia and Transsylvania, from Mysia to Thracia. The tenth is Greece.

5. [in margin:] Kingdoms. [end margin text.] Europe is nowadays divided into various Kingdoms and Sovereignties. The principal Kingdoms are France, Spain, England, Scotland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Low Countries, Poland,

Bohemia, Hungary and Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, small Tartaria called Precopensis, and then the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. There is only one Archduchy, namely that of Austria, three Grand Duchies, that of Moscovia, Lithuania and Tuscany. Duchies and Principalities there are without number.

6. [in margin:] Rulers. [end margin text.] This [Europe] has been the seat of the ancients, the Macedonians and Romans, and moreover, after the birth of Christ, it has become the dwelling place of Orthodox and Christian faith. It has various monarchs and potentates such as Charles, the son of Jacobus Stuart, present ruler of Great Britain and Ireland. Philip IV, son of Philip III, grandson of Philip II, and grand nephew of Charles V, rules Spain. France is obedient to Christian Louis XIII, son of Henri the Great. Germany has as its Emperor Ferdinand III of Austria, married to Mary, sister of the King of Spain, Philip IV. Norway and Denmark have Christian IV, son of Frederic. Sweden has Christina, daughter of Gustav. [This represents about one third of the Hondius text, which continues with a discussion on rulers, religion, cities, the shape of Europe, and ends with a very elaborate and mostly correct discussion on the languages of Europe of which the last part is in smaller font than the rest.]

Before commenting on this text, let us see what text Ortelius presents for the second map of Europe (Ort5):

5.1. EUROPA

5.2. Why *Europe* should be called as it is, and who was the first Author of this Name, nobody has yet found out; unless (says *Herodotus* in his fourth book) we should think that the whole region borrowed its name from *Europa Tyria*, daughter to the king of *Epyrus*. *Plinius* calls her the Nurse of the victorious people who conquer all other nations of the world, most beautiful and far surpassing the rest; and thus it is sometimes compared to *Asia* and *Africa*, not for its size and extension, but for its mighty power. It is certain that this part of the world, most plentifully inhabited, is for its multitude of nations inferior to neither of the other continents.

5.3. The Northern and the Western shores of this continent are washed by the ocean; the South coast is separated from *Africa* by the Mediterranean Sea. Then Eastwards, its shores are washed by the *Ægæan* sea (now called *Archipelago*), by the Black Sea (named at this time *Mar Maggiore*), by lake *Mæotis Paludis* (now termed *Mar della Zabacche*), by the river Tanais (commonly called *Don*) and by the Isthmus which is from the head or source of this river directly to the Northern Ocean; thus it is separated from *Asia*, according to the opinion of *Glareanus*. Therefore, it has the shape of a Peninsula as is manifest from the map itself. Its head *Rome* was once the conqueror of the earth.

5.4. The regions of this continent (as they are now called) consist of *Spain*, *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Slavonia*, *Greece*, *Hungary*, *Poland* with *Lithuania*, *Moscovia*, or rather *Russia*, and that Peninsula which contains *Norway*, *Sweden* and *Gotland*. Among the isles of this continent, the first place is due to *England* then follow *Ireland*, *Greenland*, *Frisland*, all situated in the main Ocean. In the Mediterranean sea we find *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corsica*, *Candia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Corfu*, *Negroponte* and others of less importance, the specific names and locations of which you can see on the Map.

5.5. This *Europe* of us, besides the Roman Empire which is held in reverence all over the world, has all in all more than twenty-eight Christian Kingdoms (including those fourteen which *Damianus à Goes* already counts in *Spain* alone). This will allow you to estimate the worthiness of this region. It is a place extraordinary fruitful, and the natural disposition of the weather is very temperate. In all sorts of grain, wines, and in its abundance of wood, it is inferior to none, but comparable to the best of others.

5.6. It is so pleasant, so beautified with stately cities, towns and villages that for the courage and valour of its people and nations, although it may be less in quantity and size than other continents, yet it might well be considered, as has indeed been done by all ancient writers, as superior to all other parts of the world. Most renowned has it also become because of the Greek Empire, and the great dominance and power of the Romans. The praise of that empire you may read in *Strabo*, who in his third book, and seven following books, has described it in the most excellent and learned manner. Also consult other ancient geographers.

5.7. More recently, writers, amongst whom *Volaterranus*, *Sebastian Münster*, *Dominicus Niger*, and *Georg Rithaimer*, in their Geographies have also endeavoured to paint Europe out in its colours. But *Pius* the second, *Christopher Cella* and *Anselmus*, his brother, have described it as a part by itself.

5.8. Various annotations about Europe concerning manners, as well as distances, have appeared in book form written by *Cherubin Stella*, *Ioannes Herbaceus*, and *Georgius Meyerus*. Something similar has been done by *William Gratarolus* in the end of his book, which is entitled *De regimine iter agentium*, or *A guide for travellers*.

It is evident that a considerable part of the text written by Ortelius functioned as the model that Hondius followed. He takes over the Plinius quote that Europe is the nurse of the victorious people that inhabit it. The order of the nations that it consists of is almost the same. Its Greek, Roman, and Christian rulers are identified. There is no doubt that Montanus consulted and used Ortelius' text when he wrote his own for Hondius. Yet, there are also consistent differences. The Hondius map contains about twice as many topographical names as that of Ortelius, and it also contains more than twice as much text *on verso*. The nature of the Hondius text is also different. It is more consistently organised, the headings of its sections are given in the margin, and under these headings, Hondius sticks to his subject, whereas the Ortelius texts are less well-organised and more rambling. In terms of the references and sources quoted, Ortelius is far more elaborate and detailed. It seems that Ortelius not only used more (mostly classical) sources than Hondius, but also feels a greater obligation to himself and his readers to list these bibliographical and cartographic sources. These differences do not only show up in the texts and the maps just compared, but are a recurrent feature for all Hondius map texts that allow a meaningful comparison with those of Ortelius.

Some map sheets consists of more than one map, as is the case for Ortelius' Fez & Marocco map (Ort177), which also contains Pigafetta's Congo map. Let us compare this to Hondius' Prester John map (Van der Krogt 8740:1A, own possession #5287) which also contains Pigafetta's Congo. The text written by Ortelius *on verso* of his Prester John map (Ort175) is by Hondius taken over almost *verbatim* and combined with the text Ortelius wrote for his Congo map. Sometimes, whole sentences are identical. Yet, consistent differences, similar to those just noted for the Europe map, are found here as well:

Hondius' texts are longer, contain more recent information, quote fewer sources if any, and are organised with greater consistency and focus on the subject at hand, which is supported by headings in the margin. As far as cursory inspection shows, Hondius' texts of atlases in different languages turn out to be fairly literal translations of whatever language came first. It is clear that once Montanus had composed a text for a map, this text remained largely unaltered. Thus, there is no difference between the texts in vernacular languages as compared to scholarly Latin, such as we found in Ortelius' *on verso* texts.

Even if we restrict ourselves to comparing *on verso* texts of maps which share title and area depicted, the majority of the Hondius texts are new, and much longer than those of Ortelius. Yet, there is hardly a map text that does not contain elements previously presented by Ortelius in his corresponding *on verso* text, and in about one out of three *on verso* texts in Hondius which also occur in Ortelius' *Theatrum*, Ortelius is mentioned by name as the authority on which the specific piece of text is based.

As regards the *Parergon* maps made by Ortelius, the situation is somewhat different. In 1618 the *Theatrum Geographiae Veteris* atlas was made by Bertius, Isaac Elsevier and Jodocus Hondius jr. It contains 28 Ptolemaic maps made by Mercator in 1578, the Peutinger maps printed from Ortelius' plates and 14 historical maps printed from Ortelius' *Parergon* plates, with the original texts as written by Ortelius, but in new typesetting, except for the Belgii Veteris and Italia Veteris maps. This atlas occurs in three variants, each variant containing more new maps (Van der Krogt 1997 p. 486 ff., atlas 1:512 for details).

As noted above, Henricus Hondius relinquished his involvement in atlas making around 1640, and Johannes Janssonius, who had been Hondius' colleague since 1629 or earlier, now became the person responsible for continuing and expanding their successful atlas publications. A result of this development was the publication in 1652 of a new historical atlas called *Accuratissima Orbis Antiqui Delineatio*. The first edition of 1652 and subsequent editions in 1653, 1654, 1657, 1660, and 1667 (Van der Krogt, 1997, atlas 1:601-1:631) had no *on verso* texts, but most maps referred to Ortelius' *Parergon* maps as the originator of historical maps. Yet, Janssonius also included some of these historical maps of Europe in his regular atlases from about 1638 onwards, acknowledging Ortelius as his map source. These maps do have texts on verso, of which we will examine an example now.

7.5.2 Ancient Greece texts compared

Our example is Graecia Sophiani (vdK 7800H:1A.1/2, own possession #1472, occurring in 1638 Latin, 1639 French, 1645 French and 1646 French), of which we will now compare the texts by Janssonius/Montanus and by Ortelius. First the Janssonius version, from the French edition of 1639:

1. Old Greece or Hellas.
2. [in margin:] Borders of ancient Greece. [end margin text]. This country, which the Romans gave the name of Greece, is by the Greeks called *Hellas*. But not all authors who have described Greece have always given it the same borders. To say it properly, it extends from the Isthmos to Thessalia, and it is separated from Epirus by the river

Achelous, having in the East the Aegean sea. And this is what is properly called Hellas. Thus we learn it from Plinius who says in various places that Hellas begins *at the straights of Isthmos*. And again *where Hellas touches the Peloponnesus at its straights*. In this way, Attic Athens is *Hellas of Hellas*, that is, the heart of Greece. Sometimes, the Peloponnesus and Thessalia are also comprised under the name of Greece. This is what we read in L. Aemilius Paulus who, making a journey through Greece, left from Thessalia to Delphi, from there to Lebadia, then to Chalcide, then to Aulide, from there to Athens, the next day to Corinth, then to Sicyone, Argos, Epidaurus, Lacedemonia, Megapolis and finally to Olympia. And thus having travelled through all of Greece, he returned to Amphipolis.

3. Homer only gives the name Hellenes to the Phthiotes. Herodotus claims that there is a difference between the Hellenes and the Pelasges. Athenaeus in his fourteenth book makes mention of three kinds of Hellenes or Greeks, namely the *Dorians, Aeolians & Ionians*. This is also confirmed by Cicero in his oration to L. Flaccus. Whether the name Hellenes derives from Hellenus or not, it is certain that the Thessalians were first called Hellenes. Plinius speaks about this as follows in his fourth book, chapter seven: *Then follows Aemonia of which the name has often been changed, and which is also called Pelasgian Argos, Hellas, Thessalia and Driopis, always assuming the names of kings who have governed it. Here king Graecus was born from whom comes the name of Greece. Similarly, Helena is the person from whom the Hellenes obtained their name. Homer gives them three names, namely the Myrmidones, Hellenes and Achaians*. But nowadays we give the name of Greece to all the land which extends from the East which is washed by the Ionian sea, in the West by the Lybian sea, in the North it is by the mountains separated from Thracia, Mysia and Dalmatia. In this country the arts and sciences were born, and from here they have spread over the rest of the world.

4. Here is also Athens, a most splendid city (if we are willing to believe Athenaeus) among all those which Jupiter has enlightened: a free city, as Plinius calls it, and so famous that it needs no further praise or recommendation. It counted among its inhabitants not only common writers, but also Strabo himself, the king of Geographers, who was accustomed to comprise various lands under the name Hellas or Greece, of which the main regions are Macedonia, Epirus, Peloponnesus, and other regions comprised under these names. Thus, all of Greece is washed by three seas, namely the Ionian, the Aegean and the Libyan sea. And at the side of the continent there are mountains which separate it from Thracian Macedonia, Upper Mysia and Dalmatia.

5. This is the Greece about which the poet Marcilius says: *Maxima terra viris & foecundissima doctis/Vrbibus* – which means: this is a land which feeds a host of great persons, & very fertile with cities of great learning. Those (as Cicero writes to Flaccus) have flourished in renown, glory, doctrines and various professions, as also in science of government and military arts. Or, as Trogus says in his Iustinus book 8, this is the place that was first in the world in force and dignity. From this country in the world, as Plinius says, the splendour of good writings has begun to shine. Here, humanity and the sciences had their birth. Here agriculture was invented, writes the same Plinius, and Caelius writes similarly to his friend Maximus. This is the country, says the same author, which has given us justice, and it has not received laws because it was defeated, but has given them to others who asked for them.

6. [in margin:] Macedonia [end margin text.] Macedonia comprises a large part of Greece. This is the Macedonia which, after having conquered the largest Empire in the world, by the force of its army went further to Asia, Armenia, Iberia, Albania, Cappadocia, Syria, Egypt, the mountain range of Taurus & the Caucasus. This is the country which prevailed over the Bactrians, the Medes, the Persians, and which possessed the entire orient. This country also triumphed over the Indies, following the traces of father Liber and Hercules, as you can see in Manilius, to dominate the universe. Finally, this is also the Macedonia in which Paulus Aemilius sacked 72 cities, and sold them in a day.

7. [in margin:] Peloponnesus [end margin text.] Then follows the Peloponnesus which is a demi-isle which yields to no other country in the world in nobility and excellence. It resembles a plane leaf. And here is the city of Corinth, situated between two seas. It is as it were the fortress and harbour of all of Greece. It is also called Lacedemonia or Sparta, a republic founded by Lycurgus, honoured for its great deeds in peace and in war. But it also appears from the writings of famous authors that under the name of Greece the country extended much wider. Was not a considerable part of Italy called Greater Greece? Similarly, that part of Asia which is opposite Macedonia is still designated by that name, because of the various colonies which the Greeks founded there. And Plutarchus in his Laconican Apophthegmes calls its inhabitants *Asian Greeks* to distinguish them from the others. And Lucianus in his Treatise on Love writes that the Chelidonian Isles are the confines or borders of ancient Greece; and Isocrates says in his Panegyric that the Greeks live in the area from Cnidos all the way to Sinope. [What has been presented is about one quarter of the entire Janssonius text on ancient Greece. Further topics are: Bosphorus, Thessalia, Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia, islands, and Athens.]

And now Ortelius' Ancient Greece (Ort215):

215.1. ANCIENT GREECE/GRÆCIA Or HELLAS.

215.2. That country which the Romans call GRÆCIA, *Greece*, was by the Greek themselves generally named HELLAS [in Greek lettering:] 'Ελλάς. Yet, its very borders are not the same according to everyone's description and limitation. That [part of it] was truly and most anciently called *Greece* which *Ptolemaeus*, *Plinius* and *Mela* name Attica/ACHAIA, in which *Athens*, [containing] the first and most flourishing University of the World, was located. Here *Jupiter* himself, as *Athenæus* testifies, kept his Court. It is a free city, as *Plinius* calls it, and as he says needs no further recommendations, so famous and honourable is it. Yet it is manifest, not only from the writings of the common Historiographers' sort, but also even from *Strabo* himself, the prince of Geographers, that many countries are comprised under the name of *Græcia* or *Hellas*, as namely *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, *Peloponnesus*, and those other provinces and shires contained under these names, so that all of *Greece*, as it is generally understood, is on three sides bounded by the *Ionian*, *Ægean* and the *Libyan* seas.

215.3. Towards the main land, it is bordered by those mountains which separate *Macedonia* from *Thracia*, *Mysia* the upper and *Dalmatia*. This is that [kind of] *Greece* which, as *Manilius* says, is *Maxima terra viris*, & *foecundissima doctis Urbibus*, &c., Renowned *Greece*, for warlike men, and scholars profoundly learned, does far excel &c., which (as *Cicero*

writes in his oration *pro Flacco*) for honour, fame, learning, various arts and sciences, civil policy in time of peace, and feats of arms and martial chivalry abroad, has always been famous, or, as *Trogus Pompeius* says in his 8th book, was for valour and esteem *Princess of the World*.

215.4. From here, as *Plinius* says, the bright lustre of all kinds of literature and human learning first cast forth its beams, and enlightened the world on all sides around [it]. From this part of the world, according to *Plinius*, all sciences have started.

215.5. In this country humanity and letters, as also the way to write and read [them], was first invented, [as also] how to till the ground and sow corn, as *Plinius* shows and as *Cæcilius* has left on record in his epistle to his friend *Maximus*. And this is the country, he says, from where we obtained our statutes, I do not mean that we received their laws as do those who are under the command of a conqueror, but willingly and courteously communicated them to those who wanted to have them. MACEDONIA occupies the largest part of *Greece*. A long time ago it conquered the greatest part of the world, passing through *Asia*, *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, *Cappadocia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, the mountains *Taurus* and *Caucasus*, [it] subdued *Bactria*, *Media*, *Persia* and the rest of those Eastern countries, even as far as *India* (in this [respect] following [in] the footsteps of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*) of which it also became the empress, yes, you may say, if you want, of the whole world, [then] answerable to *Manilius*: & *Macedum tellus quæ vicerat Orbem*: and *Macedonia* stout, which subdued all the world.

215.6. This is that *Macedonia* of 72 cities, which *Paulus Æmilius*, a Roman consul, sacked and sold in one day. Then comes PELOPONNESVS, a *peninsula*, (not much inferior in terms of goodness of soil, fertility and riches to any country under heaven) which resembles in form the leaf of a plane tree. On it you find the city of *Corinthus* between two seas, the fortress, bulwark and gate of all *Greece*, located between the two seas in the *isthmus*, neck land or narrow place between this province and *Achaia*. Here is also *Lacedæmon* in the old days called *Sparta*, revered and honoured by all men for its political government and commonwealth instituted by *Lycurgus* for many memorable acts performed both at home and abroad.

215.7. But the name of *Greece* extended itself further than before specified, on each side of the sea, as plainly appears from the records of the best writers, for was not a great portion of *Italy* in former times called *Magna Græcia* [or] Great *Greece*? A great part also of the main continent of *Asia*, beyond the sea over against *Macedonia*, received certain colonies there which were established by the Greek, and also received this name. Whose inhabitants are named by *Plutarchus* in his *Laconia apophthegmata* for distinctions sake *Græcos Asianos*, Asian Greeks.

215.8. *Lucianus* writes in his treatise on love (*de Amoribus*) that the *insulæ Chelidoniæ*, were the ancient borders of *Greece*. *Isocrates* in his oration with the title *Panegyricos* writes that the Greek settled themselves from *Cnidus* as far as *Sinope*.

215.9. In the same manner the *Ægean* sea which beats upon the coast of *Macedonia* and also upon the [part of] *Asia* just mentioned is called [in Greek lettering:] 'Ελληνική θάλασσα [Greek sea] by *Thucydides*, *Plutarchus*, *Arrianus* and *Polyænus*, and *Græciense mare*, the Greek sea, by *Plinius*. *Strabo* and *Pausanias*, among the rest, have described *Greece*, as it then stood, most diligently and interestingly.

215.10. About *Græcia Asiatica*, this part of *Greece* in *Asia* the Lesser which you see opposite *Macedonia*, read *Pausanias*' *Achaia*, and *Vitruvius*' first chapter of his third/fourth book.

Table 7.3 Text paragraphs in the Hondius (1608) and Ortelius (1598) Ancient Greece map compared.

Hondius text paragraphs	deriving from Ortelius
§2-3: borders, name	215.2-3
§4: borders, praise of Athens	215.4, 215.2
§5: Quotes Marcilius/Manilius and Cicero	215.3
§5: Quotes Plinius and Caecilius	215.5
§6: Macedonia and Greek conquests	215.5
§6: Aemilius sacking and selling 72 cities	215.6
§7: Corinth	215.6
§7: Greater Greece; Asian Greeks	215.7

These two texts show perhaps the closest match we have found so far. Even if the order in Hondius' first three paragraphs deviates from that of Ortelius, the remarks made are essentially the same, and from Hondius' paragraph 5 onwards, the match is very close. The quote which Hondius gives about Trogus, and which only occurs in Ortelius' text in the 1606 English edition, the 1608/1612 Italian edition, the 1609/1612 Latin edition, the 1609/1612/1641 Spanish edition and the 1624 *Parergon* shows that Hondius used one of these editions to compose his own text. The quote which Hondius attributes to the non-existent poet Marcilius is in fact from Manilius, showing that the copying of Ortelius' text by Hondius/Montanus was not done very carefully. Ortelius' mentioning of Cicero's Oration to Flaccus and the remark that the Roman consul Aemilius sacked and sold 72 cities in Macedonia in one day (paragraph 6 in both texts) is identical in the two texts.

Our provisional conclusion is that Hondius/Janssonius/Montanus were quite familiar with Ortelius' *Theatrum* texts, but mostly restricted their use of them to ancient maps derived from Ortelius' *Parergon* as occurring in the very late editions. On these Hondius/Janssonius maps of the ancient world it is duly mentioned that they have been derived from Ortelius' efforts (*ex conatibus Abrahami Ortelij*). These findings are summarised in Table 7.3.

We will now turn to the map texts written by the family Blaeu and compare them with those written by Ortelius.

7.6 Comparison between the *on verso* texts written by Blaeu and Ortelius

It is not our intention to review or summarise the vast amount of literature on the Blaeu family, the most prolific and important map makers of the 17th century, but only to compare some map texts.

7.6.1 Low Countries texts compared

The first candidate for such a comparison is the 1608 wall map of the Low Countries, which has printed texts in French along its side and bottom edges and which was reprinted a number of times (cf. Schilder, 1986, p. 110-122 and Schilder, 2000, map XVII). It opens with a description of the Low Countries, of which we will present approximately the first half.

1. Brief and clear description of the Low Countries.
2. This map, in which we have represented all of the Low Countries, does not include all of *Belgium*, as it has been described by *Julius Caesar*, but only a part of it, also showing a small part of Germany. He discusses it correctly under various names, such as *Belgia*, *Low Germany*, or *the Low Countries*. The *seventeen provinces* is the name under which they are now best known in the vernacular, which name also includes a small piece of Germany, the bishopric of Liège, excepting the courtships of Gulick and Cleve, which however are also included because of their proximity.
3. These Low Countries are bordered in the East by the famous river *Eems* and by the bishoprics of Cologne and Trier. In the South by the provinces of Vermandois and Picardia, just to where the river Aa discharges itself into the sea at Grevelingen. In the West and the North it is surrounded by the North sea. These provinces are seventeen in number, namely *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Luxemburg*, and *Gelderland*, which are duchies. [Then] *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Namen & Zutphen*, all duchies. [Then] the *marquisate of the Empire*, the seigniories *Friesland*, *Mechelen*, *Utrecht*, *Overijssel* and *Groningen*. These regions count more than two hundred walled cities, and 6570 villages without counting its castles and manor houses which are not small in number.
4. The air of these provinces, although humid and thick, is nevertheless praised by ancient writers as being healthy and pleasant, both in terms of digestion and for breeding. The inhabitants of these regions, provided they do not lead a disorderly life, usually reach a high age, as appears particularly in Kempen in Brabant, in which place the people, because of the barrenness of the soil, live soberly and work diligently, often reaching a high age. The east is pleasant and agreeable, with no excessive heat, and no unpleasant spells of dryness, but with a moderate temperature. Winters are sometimes longst, hard and cruel, particularly when the wind comes from the east or the north, but when they return to the south or the west, the cold is turned into warmth soon, and it will start raining.
5. You hardly see any lightning in the air, few dangerous storms, and hardly any earthquakes have been perceived here. For because of the thickness of the air and the low level of the ground they are hardly subject to any such tribulations and shocks. The territory of the Low Countries is almost everywhere flat, except for the regions of Luxemburg and Namen, where there are some mountainous areas with small hills. It is sandy in various places, such as small parts of Flanders and Brabant, and further mostly along the coastline of the sea, as in Holland and Zeeland, where there are considerable hills of sand which they commonly call *dunes*, and which function as barriers and fortresses against the furious and raging sea.
6. The other regions are very fertile in corn of various kinds, and abundant with all kinds of fruits. There are here a great number of oxen, cows, horses, sheep and other sorts of animals suitable for the meeting and maintaining of human needs, excellent to the taste, and so contented, because of the sweetness of the air, that bulls are not as ferocious as the bulls of Italy. In Friesland and Holland you find the largest and fattest cows, and you often find them there weighing more than 1600 pounds. *Louis Guicciardini* describes a cow from Friesland which was presented to the count of Hogestraten of Mechelen that weighed 2528 pounds which for that reason was portrayed on a painting which was hung in the palace of the count just mentioned, where you can still see it today.

7. The horses of Holland, Friesland, Gelria and Flanders are big, brave, beautiful and suitable for all kinds of things, but mostly fit for war. There is no corner on this earth as abundant in butter, cheese and milk as this one, as is particularly the case for the county of Holland. The rivers which traverse these lands in great number are beautiful and wide beyond measure, among which there are four which exceed all the others in width, to wit the *Rhine*, the *Maas*, the *Schelde* and the *Leie*. The inhabitants of the Low Countries are mostly beautiful, men as well as women. They are of taller stature than the Italians, French or Spanish, especially the inhabitants of Holland and of Friesland. And as the common proverb says, the tallest ones are also the most negligent ones, which is why you do not see this among the *Belgians*. *Iulius Caesar* testifies about ancient people, their predecessors, in the following manner:

8. *Among those who live in France*, he says, *the Belgians are the strongest ones*; and somewhere else: *the Belgians alone, in the time of our ancestors, have prevented the Teutones and the Cimbrians, after they had afflicted all of France, to enter their country*. The wars of the present are so parochial that the Flemish, by sea or by land, on foot or horseback, can wage them successfully. The women, apart from their natural graceful beauty, are also so graced with good manners and so virtuous and honest, that they are not restrained by their forebears or husbands, as they are in other countries. Moreover, their intelligence and knowledge of the arts in this small corner of the world is such, that it can be summarised and gathered in an Epitome. It is not necessary to discuss this any further, the various books that have been published by the learned bear testimony of the praise they deserve. But this suffices as a general description, so let us now turn to the details.

Let us now present the first half of Ortelius' description of the Low Countries (Ort58/59):

59.1. Germania beyond the Rhine, better known as Lower Germania.

59.2. This map does not show all of lower Germania, but only part of it, namely that part which Philip, son of Charles the fifth, possesses by right of inheritance. It comprises seventeen regions of governance, that is, the Duchies of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg and Gelria, the countships of Flandria, Artois, Hannonia, Hollandia, Zelandia, and Namurcum, then Zutphen, the marquisate of the Holy Empire, the dominions of Frisia, Mechelen, Utrecht, Transisulania and Groningen. These regions are so well developed, as Guicciardini says, that they have 208 walled cities, and more than 6300 villages with churches and towers, next to farms, castles and strongholds of which there are a considerable number.

59.3. The area, (starting in the East at the side of the sea with the river Amisus, also known as Eems and ending at the ocean) is bordered by the following rulers: the count of East Frisia, the bishop of Münster, the count of Clivia, the archbishop of Cologne and Trier, and finally the king of France, all the way to the river Aa on the sea coast, which forms the western border.

59.4. Although the air may seem very humid, yet it seems to bring to the inhabitants health and happiness, for particularly in the region of Brabant called Kempen, there are people of great longevity. It is watered by many rivers. It is lovely ornated by woods and forests so that it allows for hunting and relaxation. There are no mountains here,

except for some around Luxemburg and Namen, as also in Hannonia, where there are some hills. It is fertile in corn and fruits of all sorts, and also in herbs used for medicinal purposes.

It is clear that the part of Ortelius' text on the Low Countries was an important source of information for the text presented here by Blaeu. (The next part of Ortelius' text, not presented here, is a lengthy discussion of the Belgians' bilingual topographical names which Blaeu omits altogether). The order of the various regions comprised under the Low Countries and the absence of hills are clear indications. Yet, there were other texts written by Ortelius and by Guicciardini that were used by Blaeu here: the longevity of the Brabanders derives from Ortelius' Brabant maps (Ort65.2/66.2) the abundance of dairy products from the Holland map (Ort79.27/28), and the brave ancestors from the Belgii Veteris Typus maps (Ort197/198.8).

7.6.2 Brabant texts compared

Let us proceed with a comparison of the Brabant text. First we present the Blaeu text as occurring on his 1608/1622 wall map of the Low Countries:

1. The duchy of Brabant.
2. The duchy of Brabant (the first of the seventeen provinces) is almost on all sides surrounded by rivers, [viz.] the Maas, the Schelde, the Sambre and the Dender. And although the description of its borders should cover a larger area [we define it as follows:] Its neighbours on the north side are Holland and Gelria, from which they are separated by the *Maas*. On the east is the bishopric of Luik. In the south there are the countships of Namen and Henault. In the west it has Flanders, from which it is separated all the way by the Schelde. The first inhabitants of this province have been the *Advatices & Ambinarites*, mentioned by Caesar in his book. From where the source of the name Brabant comes is uncertain, and there are various opinions about it, but it must be ancient in the judgment of various authors.
3. This region comprises the *marquisate of the Holy Empire*, of which Antwerp is the capital. Then the *marquisate of Bergen*, the duchy of *Aarschot*, the countship of *Hoogstraten*, *Megen & Cantecroy*, founded recently by Charles the Fifth. The air of Brabant is very good and healthy, and the whole area is very fertile in corn and other seeds, and mostly so in the south. For the area of Kempen is mostly barren and has a soil covered with sand. But by the diligence of its inhabitants, the pastures for cattle and sheep are daily improved. In Brabant twenty-six walled cities can be counted, notably *Antwerp*, situated on the Schelde, a spacious merchant city and the most important one, not only of the Low Countries, but also recognised as the Princess of all Christianity². It is well fortified against any enemy force. It is a seigniory without exception concerning its palaces, embellished with temples and edifices, among which the steeple of the church cathedral is renowned everywhere. In human reasoning among all nations, there is no place better stocked with all kinds of things than this noble city, the particulars of which are described at length and in detail by *Louis Guicciardini*.
4. *Louvain* is a large city of four Italian miles, well known because of its university with all sciences, founded and provided with learned people by Jan the Fourth, Duke of Brabant. *Brussels*, seat of the court, and beautified with churches, palaces, lords'

manors &c. This city has everywhere beautiful and crystal clear fountains, very agreeable. *'sHertogenbosch*, famous as a city because of its inhabitants who have always been good warriors, also has great trade in linen and other merchandise. *Tienen* is a strong and great city, but now desolate in various places as a result of wars. *Leeuwen* is a strong town. In *Nivelles* there is a nunnery, founded for the benefit of noble daughters, who are ruled by an abbess commonly called the Dame of Nivelles. This lady is not only Chief of the Chapter, but also governess of the spiritual and worldly matters of Nivelles and adjoining regions.

5. *Aerschot* was once a marquisate, and now a county as a result of the favours of Charles the Fifth. *Bergen op Zoom* has become a strong city as a result of these wars, and has recently been elevated to a marquisate by Charles the Fifth. *Megen*, situated on the Maas is a duchy. *Breda* is a neat city, and famous as the home of the noble house of Nassau. *Maastricht* is an old seigniory city, beautified by grand churches and other buildings. *Steenbergen* was once famous for its beautiful harbour but is now razed to the ground as a result of wars and tempests. *Lier* is a gracious town, retreat of various rich people as a place for recreation, who therefore choose to live there. *Vilvoorden*, guarded by a strong and high castle, serves as a prison for criminals. *Gemblours*, once an duchy, is now well known for its abbey, which has a beautiful library. *Iudoigne* is the seat of the Dukes of Brabant because of its healthy air (as they say), where they raise their children.

6. *Hanut* was once a duchy. *Landen* is one of the oldest cities of Brabant. *Halen* is unfortunate because of its destruction and ruins caused by Gelria and Luik. *Diest* is a barony where the learned and honourable *Nicolas Clenard* was born. [Then] *Sichen* situated on the river Dender. [Then] *Herentals* on the river Nethe. [Then] *Eindhoven* which belongs to the county of Buren, close to the Kempen. [Then] *Helmond*, guarded by its castle. *Grave*, situated on the left bank of the river *Maas*, is a strong city, well protected against any attack. What now follows are towns without walls, but endowed by princely privileges with city rights: *Oosterwijk*, *Oirschot*, *Turnhout*, *Hoogstraten*, *Duffel*, *Walem*, *Merchten*, *Asche*, *Wernen*, *Duisbosch*, *Hulpen*, *Wavre*, *Braine*, *Genappe*, *Geel*, *Arendonk*, & *Dormal*. Under Brabant are also comprised the duchy of Limburg, the countship of Dalem, the jurisdiction of Valkenburg &c. which have fallen under the duke of Brabant, both by force of arms and through hereditary successions.

7. The natives of this duchy are subtle and good-humoured, strong and well kept, in their youth without sorrow, in their old age not melancholic, but maintaining their former vivacity and joy as before, from which comes the proverb: *The older the Brabander, the more of a fool he becomes*. Nowadays, because of the frequent visits of foreigners, they have become great masters in court-like behaviour and worldly pleasures. They have also been honoured with privileges which have closed the door against any kind of tyranny or violence because the duke who rules them has no more power over them than they have over him. Who wants to know more details should read Guicciardini, who describes it in detail.

Now we present the Brabant text written by Ortelius (Ort65/66):

66.I. BRABANT.

66.2. The duchy of *Brabant* is surrounded by the rivers *Maas*, *Schelde*, *Sambre* and *Dender*, as it nowhere exceeds them, nor does it in all places extend that far. For on this side of the *Maas* lies a great part of the province of *Liège*. But (so that we may describe its borders more perfectly), it has to the north *Holland* and *Gelderland*/[incorrectly] *Zeeland*, east the bishopric of *Liège*; south the countships of *Namen* and *Henault*; and west it is separated from *Flanders* by the river *Schelde*. It is an excellent and pleasant country, exceedingly fertile, and abounding with corn and fruit of all sorts, especially south of the river *Demer*. For its Northern part, namely *Kempenland* is somewhat more barren and sandy. Nevertheless, this part is not altogether without produce. For *Jacobus Spiegelius*, writing to *Guntherus* of *Genoa* asserts that the farmers of *Brabant* are so industrious that they succeed in making even the most dry land produce wheat, and also cattle and sheep, the greater part of which (as we [also] read in *Homerus* about those *Libian* sheep) are with horns. It has most pleasant and plentiful pastures.

66.3. By the industry and unceasing labour of the farmers, it is now daily so manured that where in past times there was nothing but unprofitable land, you may at present behold, to the great benefit of the inhabitants, the most fruitful corn fields. In the eastern part of this province there is a kind of bog or quagmire called *Peel*, the ground of which (as *Plinius* reports of the fields *Gabiensis* and *Reatinus*) trembles under a man's foot. It cannot be passed by horses or wagons, except in winter, when the upper crust of it is hardened by frost.

66.4. This region contains the marquissette of the sacred Empire, (the chief city of which is *Antwerp*) and also the marquissette of *Bergis*, the duchy of *Aarschot*, the countships of *Hoogstraten*, *Megen* and that of *Cantecroy*, lately founded by *Charles* the fifth, &c. It also has woods and forests, abounding with wild beasts of various kinds, the most important ones being *Grootenhout*, *Grootenheist*, *Meerdaal*, *Zaventerlo* and *Soenien*, the largest of all, containing within a circle of seven miles various villages and monasteries.

66.5. Hunting and hawking (except in those five woods which are reserved for the prince's own game) is allowed to all men. The people are so carefree that they hardly seem to experience the inconveniences of old age. This carefree disposition of them has given occasion to their neighbours to use this jest: *The longer the Brabander lives, the more of a fool he becomes*. The air is extremely healthy, for when the plague was most vehement in all adjacent regions, *Brabant* has most wonderfully remained free [of it].

66.6. This duchy of *Brabant* has twenty-six cities surrounded by walls and ditches. And these are the following: ANTWERP situated on the *Schelde*, the most famous market not only of *Germany* but of all of *Europe*, and one of the strongest cities in the world, much beautified by the steeple of *St. Mary's*, built to an incredible height with marble. The palace lately built [there] is hardly to be matched in all of *Europe*. [Then] BRUSSELS, abounding with sweet fountains. It is here that the Prince mostly resides, and therefore this town is much frequented by noblemen and courtiers. [Then] LOUVAIN, a large city, containing gardens, vineyards, and pastures within its walls. You may well call it the Home of the Muses, for which purpose in the year 1426 *Ioannes* the fourth, duke of *Brabant*, established here a university which flourishes with all kinds of learning. The territory of this city makes *Brabant* take pride in its history, which is further enhanced by its vineyards.

66.7. Then follows MECHELEN, famous for the court of Parliament there instituted by duke *Charles* of *Burgundy* in the year 1473. [Then] S'HERTOGENBOSCH, a town of no small importance, containing an excellent grammar school, and inhabited in the past by most warlike people. [Then] TIENEN on the river *Ghette*, from where great amounts of cheese taking its name from this city come. Here stands the church of St. *Germanus*, to which a college of Canons belongs. [Then] LEEUWE, where noble ale is brewed. [Then] NIVELLE. In this city there is a cloister of nuns, to which only ladies of great nobility can be admitted. The governess of this cloister is chosen by the nuns themselves through voting, but with the consent of the Prince, and the approbation of the bishop. And she is called the lady of *Nivelles*. The worldly and ecclesiastical jurisdiction also belong solely to her.

66.8. [Then] AARSCHOT, situated on the river *Demer*, earlier bearing the title of a marquissette, but since then promoted by *Charles* the fifth to a dukedom. [Then] BERGEN *op Zoom*, so named after a small river that runs through it, a town formerly with good trade, but now, because *Antwerp* is so near, no longer visited so much by foreign merchants. [Then] MEGEN, situated on the *Maas*. [Then] BREDA, a town most fairly built. Here stands the palace of the counts of *Nassau*, so elegantly begun by a most skilful architect that, once it has been finished, it may (I think) be preferred above all of the Princes' houses in the region.

66.9. [Then] MAASTRICHT, a large, populous and rich city, which, though it seems to lie outside the bounds of *Brabant*, acknowledges the duke of *Brabant* as its sovereign Lord. [Then] STEENBERGEN on the sea shore. In former times it was a flourishing market, but now it is next to nothing. [Then] LIER, so beautiful and pleasant a town, that many noblemen decide to choose it as a place of leisure and solace.

66.10. [Then] VILVOORDEN. Here is a strong fortress, and the castle of the duke. [Then] GEMBLOURS or Gemblacum. The abbot of this town bears the greatest responsibility in ecclesiastical and worldly matters. [Then] IOUDOGNE, formerly the nursery of young Princes from this region because of its healthy air. [Then] HANUT, earlier reported to have been an countship, situated in a most fertile place. [Then] LANDEN, judged by some to be the most ancient town of all *Brabant*. [Then] HALEN, almost entirely destroyed by wars. [Then] DIEST, built on both sides of the river *Demer*, a spacious city, whose inhabitants live on producing clothing.

66.11. [Then] SIGENEN, a town on the same river. [Then] HERENTALS, which also maintains itself through the clothing industry. [Then] EINDHOVEN in the midst of *Kempenland* on the river *Dommel*. [Finally] HELMOND, which has a castle.

66.12. There are also some places which in Dutch we call VRIJHEDEN, or free towns, although they are not fortified by walls and ditches. Yet, because they enjoy the privileges and immunities from the Princes, we thought it not altogether wrong to name them: *Oisterwijk*, *Oirschot*, *Turnhout*, *Hoogstraten*, *Duffel*, *Walen*, *Merchten*, *Asche*, *Wernen*, *Duisbosch*, *Hulpen*, *Wavre*, *Braine*, *Gennep*, *Geel*, *Arendonk* and *Dormal*. There are here [in *Brabant*] 700 villages with parish churches that have steeples and bells, a great many of which are adorned with titles of dignities. Also under the government and jurisdiction of *Brabant* are certain regions beyond the *Maas*, such as the duchy of *Limburg*, the county of *Dalem*, the state of *Valkenburg* &c.

66.13. Next to all these, it has other places of importance, but it is not our purpose here to mention them all. *Ioannes Servilius* published a brief treatise dealing with a conspiracy of the people of *Gelderland* against this country of *Brabant* where you shall find many additional details for a better knowledge of this region. But in the descriptions of the Low Countries by *Guicciardini* you shall not only read about these places, but even behold them with your eyes, so interestingly has he described them.

66.14. About the antiquities and memorable acts of this country my learned friend Mr. *Ioannes Gerard* is now about to publish, which we expect to happen before long. The ancient inhabitants of this region were called *Ambivariti* and *Advatici*, about whom you can read in *Becceselana* by *Ioannes Goropius Becanus*. About the area of Liège, which is almost entirely comprised in our map, you can read in Hubertus Leodius booklet about the Tungri and Eburones.

These two texts show great similarities in content, though not always in the order of the various topics discussed. We can list the following relations concerning a different order for similar topics:

Table 7.4 Similar text paragraphs for Brabant in Blaeu (1608) and Ortelius (1598).

Blaeu text paragraphs	derived from Ortelius
§2: river borders	66.2
§2: ancient inhabitants	66.14
§3: barren Kempen	66.2
§3-4: regions comprised in Brabant	66.4
§7: old Brabander is a fool	66.5
§5-12: towns	66.6-66.12

7.6.3 Namur texts compared

Let us now proceed to a comparison of the map texts of Namur or Namen. First we present Blaeu's (1608) text:

1. The duchy of Namen.
2. The duchy of Namen is enclosed by Brabant, Hainault, and the land of Liège. It is a small seigniory which is mountainous, yet beautiful and profitable, abounding with good iron mines. You also see mines or quarries from which beautiful marble is obtained, mixtures of marble in black, red and other colours, with which temples and lords' mansions are adorned.
3. Recently they have started to mine in the duchy coal from the earth which those who come from Liège (which have the same substance) call *Houille*. And these coals are of a wonderful nature, for where all other substances will burn more ardently when oil is added, and will be extinguished by water, these coals are extinguished by oil and burn better with water added. The inhabitants of this country, as also those living in its surroundings, to whom these coals are carried in great quantities, are thus well provided.

The smiths also use it in their forges, for it heats up the iron much quicker than in any other way.

4. This country is enriched by the famous rivers Meuse and Sambre, the waters of which traverse this land to the great profit of its inhabitants. There are also woods here, of which the main one is the *Woods of Marlaigne*, which is normally used by the nobility for hunting.

5. This duchy contains four walled cities, namely *Namen*, *Bovines*, *Charlemont* & *Valencourt*. Further it has 185 villages, without counting its abbeys, which there are in great numbers. *Namen* is its capital, and the main city of this area. But from where it obtained its name is obscure and uncertain. Nevertheless, various conjectures have been supposed which sound more like fables than that they shed any true light on this matter. This city is situated between two mountains, on the left bank of the *Meuse*, whereas the *Sambre* (which runs through the middle of the city) empties itself here in the Meuse.

6. This city is rich, well adorned with houses and other buildings, and has a strong castle. Here meets the Provincial Council, which can be addressed at Mechelen. *Bovines*, situated on left bank of the river Meuse, was in former times well inhabited but now it has been razed to the ground and almost deserted as a result of the wars. *Charlemont*, built by Charles the Fifth to resist the French, is situated on a mountain and is considered to be very strong. *Valencourt* is a neat village.

7. This land once had the title of marquisate, but around the year 1200 it was elevated to a duchy. Its inhabitants are good warriors, obedient to their ruler, they now speak French, are gracious, noble in their manners, and have among them many of good breeding. This duchy has come under the obedience of *Philip the Good*, duke of Bourgogne and count of Holland, together with other seigniories which since then resort to the House of Austria in the Low Countries.

Now, we present Ortelius' map text of Namen (Ort68):

68.1. NAMVRE/The duchy of Namen/The duchy of Namur.

68.2. The region of *Namur* is at present endowed with the title of an duchy. Whether it was so named after its principal city, or whether the city took its name from the region is uncertain, as is the origin of the word itself. The inhabitants call it *Namur* and the high Dutch [speakers call it] *NAMEN* but they are utterly ignorant of the meaning of the word. For those who claim that an idol called *Nanus* was formerly worshipped, which delivered answers and oracles on the same hill where now the castle of *Namur* is situated, and that afterwards, when the Christian religion began to shine, the idol became mute or silent, and that from *Nain* & *Muet* [mute] came the name *Namur* are (I think) reporting fables, without the authority of any approved writers. *Meierus* reports that in ancient times it was called *Neumur* which means in Latin as much as *Novus Murus*, a new wall.

68.3. Upon this region border the provinces of *Liège*, *Brabant*, *Henault* and *Luxemburg*. It is watered by the *Maas* and *Sambre*, two beautiful, navigable rivers. The country is neither mountainous nor plain, but raises here and there up to small hills and sinks down to valleys. The woods, of which the largest is called *Marlaigne*, yield plenty of game for gentlemen. It abounds with things necessary for a man's life. Here are many iron mines. Here they also dig a kind of stony or mineral coal which in Dutch we call

STEENKOLEN. The inhabitants, as also the Liègeois (for they have them too), like the Eburones, where you also find a lot of it, call them *Houille*. The learned call them [in Greek lettering] Λιθαντράκες, which means as much as *stone coals*. The nature of these stones is most wonderful. For whereas oil increases the flames of all other fuel, these burn more vehemently by casting water [on them, whereas] they are quenched by oil. With these coals the inhabitants and bordering nations (for they are also transported from here to other countries) make lusty fires in their homes, and blacksmiths soften their iron better with this than with any other kind of fire.

68.4. Here are quarries also, from which marble is hewn, both black, brown and multicoloured, with which the churches and houses of the adjacent regions are marvellously adorned. From these kinds of marble the people of *Namur* reap no small benefits.

68.5. This country has four walled towns: *Namur*, *Bovines*, *Charlemont* and *Vallencure*. NAMVR, as has been said, is its principal city, and has lately become a bishop's see. It is very conveniently located namely at the joining of the rivers *Maas* and *Sambre*. It has stone bridges to pass over both rivers. Here is the chief tribunal of justice for the whole region. BOVINES is on the Western bank of the *Maas*, a town in past times glorious for [its] buildings and populous in inhabitants, but now so deformed and ruined through frequent wars that it has lost most of its beauty.

68.6. CHARLEMONT is a most impregnable castle, if such a thing is possible, so named and built by *Charles* the fifth, near the bank of the *Maas*, on top of a hill, near a village called *Givet*. Nor is VALENCVRE a city of small importance, beautiful and fine. Also within this country, next to various abbeys, there are 80 villages, of which *Floreu*, *Vasseiges*, *Sanson* and some others are so large and beautiful that they may well be compared to towns. This region formerly bore the title of a marquissette, but around the year 1200 it was converted into a duchy. The people are very warlike, and most loyal to their Prince. They speak French. This region (as the rest of the Low countries) has been described accurately by *Guicciardini*.

These texts show a greater resemblance than any of the texts examined so far, as is shown in the following summary:

Table 7.5 Similar text paragraphs for Namen in Blaeu (1608) and Ortelius (1598).

Blaeu text paragraphs	derived from Ortelius text paragraphs
\$2: surrounding provinces	68.3
\$2: mining of iron and marble	68.4
\$3: coal burns in water, extinguished by oil, used by smiths	68.3
\$4: rivers, woods for nobility hunting	68.3
\$5: city of Namen	68.5
\$5: origin of the name of Namen	68.2
\$6: provincial council, Bovines, Charlemont	68.5
\$7: once a marquissate, now duchy, characteristics of the French-speaking people	68.6



Figure 7.2 Coins presented in Ortellius' Parergon texts of Ancient France according to Caesar (Ort194), followed by the copies of these coins presented in Blaeu's map texts.

With the exception of Holland and Friesland, all those provinces which are discussed by the two cartographers have texts that closely resemble each other. It is also clear that some remarks are made on the basis of a source common to both, viz. Guicciardini.

Willem Blaeu's first atlas (see for more details Van der Krogt, 2000) was the so called *Atlantis Appendix, sive pars altera, continens Tab: Geographicas diversarum Orbis*, first published in 1630 and containing 60 maps without text *on verso* (vdK atlas 2:011). The second *Appendix* called *Appendix Theatri A. Ortelii et Atlantis G. Mercatoris, continens Tabulas Geographicas diversarum Orbis regionum, nunc primum editas cum descriptionibus*, containing the names of Ortellius and Mercator in its title, was published in 1631 in two versions (Van der Krogt 2:021/2:022). The maps of these edition do have text *on verso*, reset for the second version.

The next of Blaeu's atlases which do have map texts are the 2 volume *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* series published from 1635 onwards with editions in German (Van der Krogt 2:131/132), Latin (Van der Krogt 2:101), Dutch (Van der Krogt 2:121) and French (Van der Krogt 2:111), containing 207 or 208 maps. This series would in the course of time be expanded in various languages to 3 volumes (1640), to four volumes (1643), to five (1649), and to six (1655). Blaeu also made atlases devoted to England, Scotland and China, and all these publications finally culminated in his 10/11/12 volume *Atlas Major*.

The title of his 1635 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* atlas indicates that Blaeu decided to make use of the name of Ortellius' atlas, although the name of its author, still mentioned in the 1631 *Appendix*, had meanwhile disappeared, rather than using the title of *Atlas* as his competitor Hondius/Janssonius did. Let us examine map texts as contained in the 1635 Latin edition of this atlas¹³.

We will restrict ourselves to those maps, which are clearly based on Ortellius' maps.

Our comparison yields only two maps (Van der Krogt 4000H:2B & 4000H:2A) whose accompanying texts were exact copies of the corresponding texts written by Ortellius, viz. the two *Parergon* maps of France, Ancient France according to Strabo (Ort194) and Ancient France according to Caesar (Ort196). Not only the texts, but also the coins presented at the end of the texts have been copied diligently from Ortellius (see figure 7.2). This indicates that in the area of historical maps, Ortellius' position was still dominant 37 years after his decease.

However, if we compare texts from the 'modern' i.e. contemporary map, hardly any similarities can be found at this stage any more. For the Luxemburg map we find corresponding derivations

for the place name *Arlun*. The opening lines for Zeeland in Blaeu resemble those of Ortelius, but no further similarities can be found. For the Flanders, Brabant, Artois, Hainault and Holland maps presented by Blaeu, the texts bear no similarities at all with those written by Ortelius.

7.6.4 Texts of Namur (again) compared

The only map where there are a number of corresponding features is the Namur map of which we will first present (most of) the Blaeu text and then the Ortelius text. Blaeu's text of Namur still resembles the one presented in French in 1608 on the wall map, which we presented above.

Blaeu 1635 (Van der Krogt 2000, Vol. II map 3320:2)

1. Namur & Hannonia

2. The duchy of Namur has small and limited borders with Brabant, Hannonia, Luxemburg, and the episcopate of Liège. It has a large population, good-natured and faithful, well versed in arts and military matters. The air is moist and temperate; it has rivers abounding with fish, of which the most important ones are the Meuse and the Sambre. Here are many woods, with venison and fowls, plenty of fruits and by far the largest wood in size is called Marliana. In the plains, wheat and other kinds of corn grow in its fertile fields. The hills, which you find in this region in abundance, have next to useful and splendid woods a multitude of springs and fountains with the clearest water, but various hills also contain iron, and even veins of lead, and various kinds of marble, among which it excels mostly in blackish and reddish marble, sometimes mixed with white, which is called Jaspis. For some time now, they have begun to dig up those stones that are suitable for being burnt, which we may call Lithantracas. They also mine here great quantities of excellent nitrate.

3. Truly, there are here so many waters and rivers, and so many woods and groves, that they provide excellent opportunities for washing and cooking, and for sharpening steel. That iron is transported from here for all kinds of useful services, so that various activities can be undertaken with them, that no one ever needs to ask from where this material originated. There are so many furnaces, workshops and tools, particularly in Marlianus, that it seems that we are looking at the smithies of Vulcanus and the Cyclops.

4. Of walled cities in this duchy there are four: *Namur*, *Bovines*, *Charlemont* and *Valencourt*. There are 182 villages, numerous abbeys, church administrations, nobility and heads of cities, who are highly regarded.

5. Namur is the most important city, recently honoured with the title of episcopate. The origin of its name is obscure. Some serious authors have written by themselves, or taken over from others, if I am not mistaken, that it derives from Naino, a heathen God. He is said to have lived on top of a mountain, where way down below you now find the city, and was honoured as an idol, and everyone flocked to it to pay homage, and he gave answers to questions. But after the coming of Christianity, (and when first the Christian faith was embraced like a lady newly wed) it became mute.

6. Others say that this city was built by the Romans on this impregnable rock. They called it *Novum Murum* [the new wall] and hence Namur, or, as others say, Namura. It is situated between two mountains at the left side bank of the river Meuse. On the west

side it is washed by the river Sambre, which cuts it in half. The Meuse flows through it, in swift current.

The distance to Louvain is eight miles, to Liège ten, and to Brussels eleven. It is a beautiful city, and lovely, an excellent stronghold on a sublime, conspicuous spot. Its College of Friars is very famous, founded and financed by magistrates....

7. *Bovigne* is at a distance of four miles from Namur. It is an insignificant town, and was already largely devastated by the injuries of war, when later Henri the Second, King of France, razed it further to the ground in 1554. In these times it is being rebuilt by the industry of its citizens. *Charlemont* is an excellent stronghold, strongly fortified with bulwarks....

Here follows Ortelius' text *on verso* of his Namur map once more (Ort68):

68.1. NAMVRE/duchy of Namen/The duchy of Namur.

68.2. The region of *Namur* is at present endowed with the title of an duchy. Whether it was so named after its principal city, or whether the city took its name from the region is uncertain, as is the origin of the word itself. The inhabitants call it *Namur* and the high Dutch [speakers call it] *NAMEN* but they are utterly ignorant of the meaning of the word. For those who claim that an Idol called *Nanus* was formerly worshipped, which delivered answers and oracles on the same hill where now the castle of *Namur* is situated, and that afterwards, when the Christian religion began to shine, the Idol became mute or silent, and that from *Nain & Muet* [mute] came the name *Namur* are (I think) reporting fables, without the authority of any approved writers. *Meierus* reports that in ancient times it was called *Neumur* which means in Latin as much as *Novus Murus*, a new wall.

68.3. Upon this region border the provinces of *Liège*, *Brabant*, *Henault* and *Luxemburg*. It is watered by the *Maas* and *Sambre*, two beautiful, navigable rivers. The country is neither mountainous nor plain, but raises here and there up to small hills and sinks down to valleys. The woods, of which the largest is called *Marlaigne*, yield plenty of game for gentlemen. It abounds with things necessary for a man's life. Here are many iron mines. Here they also dig a kind of stony or mineral coal which in Dutch we call *STEENKOLEN*. The inhabitants, as also the *Liegeois* (for they have them too), like the *Eburones*, where you also find a lot of it, call them *Houille*. The learned call them [in Greek lettering] *Λιθαντράκες*, which means as much as *stone coals*. The nature of these stones is most wonderful. For whereas oil increases the flames of all other fuel, these burn more vehemently by casting water [on them, whereas] they are quenched by oil. With these coals the inhabitants and bordering nations (for they are also transported from here to other countries) make lusty fires in their homes, and blacksmiths soften their iron better with this than with any other kind of fire.

68.4. Here are quarries also, from which marble is hewn, both black, brown and multicoloured, with which the churches and houses of the adjacent regions are marvellously adorned. From these marbles the people of *Namur* reap no small benefits.

68.5. This country has four walled towns: *Namur*, *Bovines*, *Charlemont* and *Vallencure*. *NAMVR*, as has been said, is its principal city, and has lately become a Bishop's see. It is very conveniently located namely at the joining of the rivers *Maas* and *Sambre*. It has

stone bridges to pass over both rivers. Here is the chief tribunal of justice for the whole region. BOVINES is on the Western bank of the *Maas*, a town in past times glorious for [its] buildings and populous in inhabitants, but now so deformed and ruined through frequent wars that it has lost most of its beauty.

68.6. CHARLEMONT is a most impregnable castle, if such a thing is possible, so named and built by *Charles* the fifth, near the bank of the *Maas*, on top of a hill, near a village called *Givet*. Nor is VALENCVRE a city of small importance, beautiful and fine. Also within this country, next to various Abbeys, there are 80/82 villages, of which *Floreu*, *Vasseiges*, *Sanson* and some others are so large and beautiful that they may well be compared to towns. This region formerly bore the title of a marquissette, but around the year 1200 it was converted into a duchy. The people are very warlike, and most loyal to their Prince. They speak French. This region (as the rest of the Low Countries) has been described accurately by *Guicciardini*.

Table 7.6 Similar text paragraphs for Namen in Blaeu (1635) and Ortelius (1598).

Blaeu text paragraphs	deriving from Ortelius text paragraphs
§2: rivers, hills, surrounding provinces	68.3
§2: Marlana woods with venison and fowls	68.3
§2: coal, lithantrakes	68.3
§2: marble of various kinds	68.4
§4: main cities, Bovines devastated by war.	68.5
§4: people war-like but good-natured	68.5
§5: Idol Nanus became mute when Christianity came.	68.2

Next to fewer similarities to Ortelius' map texts than the similarities we found in the 1608 Namur Blaeu text, we also find more dissimilarities: the order of the features of Namur in the Blaeu text as compared to the text of Ortelius is less preserved, the Blaeu text is much longer (and not fully presented, as indicated by dots), and also presents more details, such as the number of villages found in Namen. Clearly, the function of Ortelius' map texts as examples for the Blaeu map texts is fading in time.

From about 1680 onwards, map texts which had been a dominant feature since Ortelius introduced them in 1570, began to disappear from the atlases of Dutch cartographers active at that point in time, still dominating the international cartographic scene, such as de Wit, Danckerts, Visscher, and Schenk & Valck. Thus, map texts supporting the maps about which they were written had a flourishing period of about 100 years only, and were only re-introduced around 1800, but in a different form and with different functions than they had during their first period.

7.7 Conclusions of the comparison of Ortelius map texts with those of his contemporaries and successors

Summarizing our observations comparing Ortelius' map texts with those of his contemporaries and successors, we can conclude as follows:

Ortelius was the first cartographer to introduce texts of a uniform format, written *on verso* of his uniform atlas maps by way of explanation of what there was to be seen on the maps constituting the core of the atlas. His texts aimed at providing all kinds of details about the inhabitants of the area depicted, the history of the area and of its rulers, its indigenous animals, its produce, the variations in fortune it endured over time including war, plagues etc. They were meant for those who became tired of 'travelling' through the maps by offering an opportunity for repose and reflection, as Ortelius states in the introduction of his *Theatrum*.

This model of maps of uniform format was taken over or developed independently by his contemporary De Jode, but the map texts were not taken over, possibly for personal reasons. De Jode's texts show that he was primarily a geographer and statistician, whereas Ortelius is rather a describer and historian who constantly revised and expanded his texts.

Bouguereau used few of Ortelius' map texts and none of their historical descriptions from the maps which he took over from Ortelius. Ortelius used a few lines of Bouguereau's text from the only map which he took over, viz. a poem by Blanchon for the Blaisois & Lemovicum (Ort43) map.

Mercator most definitely had a thorough knowledge of Ortelius' maps and their texts (some of which mention Mercator as their maker). Evidence of this is provided by the recommending letter which is included in the Latin editions of Ortelius' *Theatrum* from 1573 onwards. But Mercator hardly uses any texts *on verso* of his maps, and if text is included it mostly assumes the form of lists. Mercator's texts are also of a different nature, and mainly consist of lists.

Hondius and Janssonius do provide some evidence of using Ortelius' texts, but primarily *on verso* of those maps they adapted or copied from the *Parergon* part of Ortelius' *Theatrum*.

Blaeu took over some texts rather literally in his 1608 wall map of the Low Countries. In the course of time, these similarities gradually disappear as more maps and more information about the areas depicted and about their historical background became available. Like those of Janssonius, Blaeu's historical maps, taken over from Ortelius' *Parergon*, show text similarities that persisted longest.

After the flourishing period of the Blaeus, which ended in the 1680's, almost 100 years after Ortelius' decease, texts *on verso* of atlas maps gradually disappear.

Nowhere in the texts of atlases that appeared after Ortelius' death do we find such a massive amount of quotes from antiquity as we find in the *Theatrum*, except for some maps taken over from Ortelius' *Parergon* which have been copied *verbatim* from Ortelius' texts, notably by Blaeu. As regards other features of Ortelius' *Theatrum* such as the *Catalogus Auctorum* in the scholarly editions, the only map maker who followed this example was De Jode. However, as we noted, his *Catalogus* contains many names not referring to map makers. Moreover, De Jode's *Catalogus* was not maintained and expanded in the course of time like Ortelius' list did, but remains the same from the first edition in 1578 until the second and last edition in 1593.

This leads us to conclude that Ortelius' map texts were a complete novelty in 1570, but when atlases competing with those of Ortelius came on the market, they followed Ortelius' example by also including text, though not necessarily the texts which Ortelius had written.

Similarities between Ortelius' map text and those of later map makers gradually diminish except for those texts which accompanied historical maps, taken from Ortelius' *Parergon*. Thus, Ortelius' example to include texts in an atlas was generally followed, but the texts of his contemporaries and successors were more geographically and statistically oriented, and less descriptive, and they did not devote much attention and space to history. This clearly illustrates Ortelius' unique position in cartography as a true and inveterate historiographer.

The 'modern atlas characteristic' of including texts *on verso* of the maps it contained was maintained for about a century after their first appearance in Ortelius' *Theatrum*, and only reappeared in the 19th century in a different form and with different functions. In summary, we may say that the texts *on verso* of the maps were Ortelius' most original contribution to his *Theatrum* and that they were an example for later map texts written by some succeeding cartographers, but not for others.

Notes

- 1 However, De Jode also produced prints of coins, architecture, portraits, mythology, reproductions of paintings and the like, as Skelton points out in the introduction to the *Speculum* facsimile (TOT, 1965).
- 2 See Schilder, 1987, pp. 1-58 for a discussion of full size facsimiles of Ortelius' wall maps. Of this map only two copies have survived, now in the University of Basel library (2 x 4 sheets) and in the British library (8 loose sheets).
- 3 It is questionable whether the *Catalogus Auctorum* in De Jode's *Speculum* deserves that name, since it contains many names of mostly classical authors who never made maps, whereas for those authors who did make maps, these maps are not listed. This is in sharp contrast with Ortelius' *Catalogus Auctorum*.
- 4 Bouguereau, M. 1594. *Le Théâtre françois* which appeared in facsimile as *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Facsimiles*, Series III, Amsterdam: 1966, with an introduction by F. de Dainville.
- 5 In fact, the introduction also mentions a copy of the Plancius map of France, and a copy of the small Hondius map of France of 1591. The inclusion of France maps in the Bouguereau is inconsistent. We have only been able to inspect the facsimile copy.
- 6 It may very well be that Bouguereau did not write his own texts in these politically confusing times, see Pastoureaux, 1984, p.24..
- 7 p. 10 left side of Mercator's *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura*, Duisburg 1595, translated by David Sullivan for the digital facsimile published by Octavo (www.octavo.com), 2000.
- 8 Again in the Octavo translation by David Sullivan.
- 9 Schmidt-Ott, 1998, p. 363-378, and much extended Schmidt-Ott, 2000, 254 pp.
- 10 Montanus also wrote the texts for Pieter van den Keere's *Germania Inferior* atlas of 1617. He mentions Emanuel van Meteren, Jacques Marchantius, Gerard Mercator, Charles Scribanus, J.B. Gramaye, Ubbo Emmius, P.P. Merula and P. Bertius as his sources.
- 11 The end of the 16th century is known as a "little ice age".
- 12 This may have been true when Ortelius made a similar remark in his Brabant text (Ort66) in 1570, but it was certainly no longer true in 1608, when Blaeu copied this text from Ortelius.
- 13 Copy consulted: University Library of Amsterdam, 1805A 10-11.



8 Conclusions

The greatest innovation that can be attributed to Ortelius is that he was the first to conceive the atlas-format: a collection of maps of uniform size together covering the world, bound together as a book, with supportive texts around the maps. This study looks elsewhere: we now turn to the question which motivated this study:

What goal does Ortelius intend to reach with the texts he provides on verso of his maps? What innovations were accomplished in his attempts to reach this goal?

Let us examine the main findings reported in each chapter and discuss them in connection with this question.

Chapter 1 examines the reasons which Ortelius himself gives for including texts *on verso* of his maps.

This discussion is an innovation in itself. Later atlases simply give *on verso* texts on the maps they contain after Ortelius' example, but in contrast to Ortelius' atlas, they do not state why these texts have been included. From Ortelius' introductory message to the reader of his atlas, as well as from the *on verso* texts themselves it becomes evident that the purpose of introducing texts *on verso* of the maps is not simply to avoid empty pages. Ortelius writes two types of texts which depend on the language of the atlas edition and therefore depend on the type of reader he has in mind. The Latin editions of the *Theatrum*, by far the most numerous, and editions in Spanish, Italian and English which were fairly faithful translations from Latin have a different text for each map as compared to the Dutch, French and early German editions. The Latin editions and their derivatives can be characterised as scholarly, because they contain many quotes from and references to classical, medieval and contemporary renaissance writers and assume a command of Latin and some Greek on the part of the reader as well as an interest in the classics.

In contrast to this, the Dutch, French and early German editions do not contain the literary references found in the Latin editions, but instead display a less objective and more personally involved attitude towards the reader. These texts report personal experiences of the author, matters of general interest, and if they refer to other writers, these references mostly deal with miracles, wonders and other matters assumed to be of interest to the non-academic reader. Therefore, the Dutch, French and early German editions can be characterised as vernacular editions.

The scholarly texts aim at providing all the literary and cartographical sources available to Ortelius when writing these texts, in order to maximally inform the studious reader about what these sources have to report on the region at issue.

The vernacular texts aim at providing information, not based on literary sources, but rather aim at giving first-hand, personal information of the region displayed *on recto*.

Ortelius does not claim to be a cartographical innovator as far as his maps are concerned (with the possible exception of his *Parergon* maps), but he does claim that geography can be very helpful in the study of history, which is his prime concern.

Ortelius was aware of his limitations as a geographer, and regarded cartographers such as his friend Mercator, knowledgeable in the art of engraving, making instruments and surveying land to be mapped, to be a worthy successor of Ptolemæus and Strabo, a claim he would never make for himself. Even if he vied successfully for the title of 'Geographer of King Philip' (cf. Koeman, 1964, p. 36), his main interest was of a historical nature. Let us return for a moment to the vernacular address to the reader, also presented in chapter 1, which opens as follows:

Abraham Ortelius totten goet-willigen Leser.

Hoe aenghenaem de kennisse der historien allen soorten van mensen is, (ende dat om den oorboor, ende gherief dat sy in alle handelen ende toevallen, die den menschen ghebeuren moghen, biedende is) blijkt hier wte, dat den mensche ghebeuren moghen, biedende is) blijkt hier wte, dat de mensche (nae diuerscheyt der natueren, daer hy van geboorten in ghe-aerdt is) elck schier tot eenighe bysondere exercitie oft Conste gheneghen is; als deen totter Consten van Grammatica, Rhetorica, Musica, de ander tot Arithmetica, Astronomia, Medecijnen, Rechten, Architectura, etc. d'ander tot Schilderen, eenighe tot Beeldt-snijden, sommige tot Landt-bouwinge; ende soo voort, elck een tot eene bysondere; soomen dat clærlycken siet, dat schier elck, eene voor hem neemt als eyghen, ende die andere hem soe seere niet aen en treckt, als oft (nae sijn meyninge ten minsten) die soo nootelycken oft profytelycken niet en ware. Maer veel anders ist met de kennisse der Historien, daer van natueren elck (van wat condition dat hy sijn mach) begheerte toe heft; ende oock niet (nae ons duncken) sonder groote redene; om dates alle menschen aengaet. Want om de waerheyt te segghene, alsment te rechte in-siet, wat is des menschen leuen anders dan een Historie, die hy beghint, werckt, ende voleyndt binnen synen leuene! Alsook dat elck mensch sijn eyghene Historie schijnt te hebben. Daerom oock van natueren onsteken word totter begheerten der wetenschap, wat anderen voor hem geschiet is, ende noch geschiet binnen synen tijde, ende wat nae hem geschieden sal.

In translation:

Abraham Ortelius to the benevolent reader.

How pleasant the knowledge of histories is for all kinds of people, (and for honourability and pleasantness in all actions and happenings that it may offer to people) becomes apparent from this, that each person, (after the variety of his nature by birth) is attracted to a special vocation or art; one person may be attracted to the art of grammar, rhetoric, music, the other to arithmetic, astronomy, medicine, law, architecture, the other to painting, or sculpture. Some may be attracted to agriculture and so on, each choosing his own particular predilection, so that it can clearly be seen that everyone identifies with something in particular for himself, whereas other subjects are not so attractive (at least in their own opinion) and not so useful or profitable.

But as regards the knowledge of history, matters are different, because by nature, (whatever condition a person may be in) he longs for it. And this (in our view) is not without reason, for (as we view it) it concerns everyone. To tell the truth, if you look at this truly, what else is a human life except history, which he begins, through which he works, and which he terminates at the end of his life! Equally, every human being seems to have his own history. Therefore, by nature, we light up to love of knowledge about what happened before our own lifetime, what happened during our own lifetime, and what will happen afterwards.

This text continues with the usefulness of maps as a mnemonic pictorial device to help understand history, as we saw in the scholarly version of this address. One thing is evident in this reasoning. People may have very different predilections as regards their callings in life, but in Ortelius' view, history is for everyone, it is the queen of scholarship, there is no escape from it, and everyone has a natural interest in at least one's own history.

Equally convincing arguments, from professionals of all of the arts and sciences Ortelius mentions, have been advanced to claim different primacies in academic pursuits. What is of importance here is not whether Ortelius' statement is true, but rather that this is his own firm view which underlies his *on verso* texts. For Ortelius, and he is more than willing to give precedence to it above any other discipline, knowledge of history is our best approach to understand the world.

'Everyone is interested in history, because everyone *has a history of his own*.'

Explaining this motto in his scholarly text versions, Ortelius relies heavily on ancient sources to provide the history of the region discussed.

In the vernacular text versions, he avoids scholarly sources, and gives instead his personal history of the region e.g. when visiting Vienna (Ort150, Hungary) to describe the roaming Hungarians who bring their cattle to the Viennese market, or when he relates about the regions of Hungary so full of fish that you can smell them everywhere and where you do not receive a 'thank you' when donating fish.

Ortelius' own reasons for providing *on verso* texts stem from his personal interest in history, which he assumes to be present on the part of the reader as well. If the reader is an academic, he will receive all bibliographical information available, preferably from the classics that Ortelius can get hold of, to get full academic satisfaction. If the reader is not an academic, Ortelius tries to evoke a vivid picture of the area under discussion by providing his own personal history about it without putting himself continually in the limelight, again with the intention to captivate and satisfy his reader.

In **Chapter 2**, an inventory of editions of the *Theatrum* is presented. This inventory is somewhat different from earlier inventories like those by Koeman (1967), Van den Broecke (1996) and Van der Krogt (2003). Their inventories were mostly based on date of title page and composition of the list of cartographic sources given in the atlas, the *Catalogus Auctorum*. In this study, we take the texts *on verso* as the measure for determining editions. It then turns out that many editions contain two or three subgroups with different typesetting, even if the words of their *on verso* texts are the same. As becomes apparent when the map texts are closely analysed, the first edition

of 1570 appears in three variants (A,B & C) as reported by Van der Krogt, and the 1573 and 1579 Latin edition in two variants (A & B). Conversely, editions which have been considered as different on the basis of the date on the title page, turn out to have identical typesetting. Examples are the 1580 and 1589 German edition, the 1609 and 1612 Latin editions and the 1609, 1612 and 1641 Spanish editions. Chapter two also discusses Ortelius' language abilities. It is argued that Ortelius wrote the Latin, French and Dutch *on verso* map texts, and had a reading knowledge of German, Spanish and Italian but did not make translations into these languages. We then discuss the method for presenting the scholarly and vernacular translations of ten maps we selected out of the inventory of 226 maps made for the *Theatrum*. These are considered as being fairly representative for Ortelius' *on verso* texts. These texts are presented in a compressed form, indicating which changes occurred in which successive editions. It is also explained there how textual characteristics can be used for dating a loose map precisely. This chapter is a necessary preliminary instrument for establishing in how many editions the ten maps of our sample occur and to establish the differences, if any between these editions.

Chapter 3 presents for ten maps their characteristics, cartographical sources (based mainly but not exclusively on Meurer (1991) and Karrow (1993)), textual characteristics for determining the date of the map when found in loose form, any literature relating to the map, and a translation of the scholarly and vernacular version of the *on verso* text. Finally, a listing is given per translated text of all authors and their books, as mentioned in the text, and the paragraph in the text where this author is mentioned. Together with chapter 2, this chapter contains and provides the preliminary data needed for the analysis performed in chapter 4 and 5.

Chapter 4 discusses the relation between any text block that may be found on the map and the text *on verso*. What we found was that texts *on verso* refer to the map image frequently, but that pieces of text on the map itself, which do not occur on every map, hardly ever refer to the map text *on verso*. This finding confirms Van der Krogt (1998) that Ortelius' *Theatrum* should indeed be called the first modern atlas, since it has texts supporting maps, not maps illustrating texts, as was the case for the precursors of the *Theatrum*, and also since maps are presented in a uniform size, and are bound together to turn them into a book. This finding also confirms that the maps, not their texts, are the backbone of the atlas and provides an explanation why the *on verso* texts have so far been largely ignored in the literature. This inequality of importance of maps as compared to *on verso* texts is confirmed by the fact that about 5% of the approximately 1 million maps printed for the *Theatrum* that were apparently sold on request as loose maps without texts *on verso*. However, no sheets have been found which only contain map texts without showing a map *on recto*.

Chapter 5 first returns to the texts *on verso* of each map in their original form in the seven languages in which they were printed. We compared the number of words in the earliest versus latest edition in which they occur, both for the scholarly and for vernacular texts. Clear differences emerge for every map text: the latest scholarly *on verso* text is always longer than the earliest scholarly *on verso* text of the same map. In other words: for all maps the amount of text *on verso* grows in time, though not equally fast for each text. Merged over the 10 map texts, this increase in scholarly texts amounts to about one third. The vernacular texts remain utterly stable. This can be understood when we realise that Ortelius' aim for scholarly texts was to give as many

supportive references as he could. Whenever Ortelius in his reading of classical, medieval or contemporary sources found new texts worth quoting, he would insert them into existing map texts. His vernacular texts did not need such updating of references, since Ortelius included few or no references to start with, assuming that such references were not desired and not expected on the part of the reader. The 'human interest' texts were assumed to have a timeless appeal that needed no updating. In the course of this text analysis it also became evident that after 1573, the German editions no longer converged with the French and Dutch editions in featuring a vernacular text. From the next German edition onwards, e.g. the 1580 German edition, its texts *on verso* were mostly faithful translations of the Latin editions. German is next to Latin the only language in which the 3rd, 4th and 5th *Additamenta* used for updating earlier editions have been made. These *Additamenta* also increasingly contained *Parergon* maps, representing if not imitating maps made during the time of the Roman Empire. The *Parergon* texts *on verso* were invariably of the scholarly type.

Returning to our comparison of *on verso* texts of the 10 maps of our sample, we looked for characteristics of modifications in the scholarly and vernacular text versions, concentrating specifically on additions, omissions and replacements as a function of time. Merged over all scholarly texts, 602 modifications were found, or an average of about 60 modifications per map text. Modifications over all vernacular texts amounted to only 68, or 8.5 per map text. These data confirm our word count results for the two text versions mentioned. The distribution of text modifications for both text versions showed that the 1592 Latin and the 1595 Latin *on verso* texts contained most modifications.

Concentrating on one type of modification of importance, viz. the addition of new bibliographical sources, it becomes even more evident that the period from about 1588 to 1598, the last decade of Ortelius' life, was also his most productive one as far as references to new bibliographical sources are concerned.

These findings support Ortelius' idea that the scholarly texts never attain the perfect status of containing all that can be found about the area in the classical, medieval and contemporary literature. 'We did what we could, not what we would' is an often found lament, particularly in the *Parergon* texts.

The fact that vernacular texts hardly change at all over the whole period that the *Theatrum* was published reflects their aim, which differs from that of the scholarly versions: they were not intended for the studious reader but rather for the reader who was looking for amusement, a personal point of view and relaxation from the wearisome armchair travelling he had done by looking at the maps.

Our next intention, discussed in **the second half of chapter five** was to assess to what extent the translation of the scholarly texts written by Ortelius in Latin and translated into post-1573 German, Spanish, English and Italian were accurate or true translations. Similarly, we wanted to assess to what extent Ortelius' vernacular texts written in Dutch and translated into French and 1572/1573-German editions were translated correctly. Reformulating our task, it was attempted to determine to what extent the texts in different languages were transparent, or conversely, to determine how much was 'lost in translation'. This is not easy for a translation from one language into one other language, let alone for two types of texts, the scholarly texts being translated into three to four other languages, the vernacular texts into one or two other languages. Since

no established procedure for assessing the amount of transparency between source and target language is available, a method was devised to assess the difference between words and word groups, for which three types were chosen from the texts *on verso*:

1. Proper names, invariably referring to carto-bibliographical sources. If their spelling deviated from one language to another, this was counted as a difference. If all 7 languages had different spellings for the same source, the difference, for the purpose called Difference Measure for this word series was $7/7=1$ or 100%. If 3 names were spelled exactly the same across seven languages, and 4 names were deviant or formed two identity groups of two names. The Difference Measure or DM was $4/7$ or about 57%.
2. Geographical concepts and expressions. Again, we compared across seven languages, or a smaller number if the concept only occurred in the scholarly texts but not in the vernacular ones. If the map itself also contained the geographical expression, e.g. a place name, this was also included in the calculation of the DM. A word is considered as being different when its shape points at a different derivation and/or meaning. The geographical concept translated as 'miles' (map text §8.2) is based on (1. on map): 'milliari', (2. Latin): 'mil.', (3. German): 'Meill', (4. Spanish): 'leguas', (5. Italian): 'miglia', (6. English): 'miles', (7. Dutch): 'mylen', and (8. French): 'Lieuës'. Clearly, 'miles' is the norm and 'leagues' and 'lieuës' deviate from this norm. The difference measure or DM is 2 (deviants) divided by 8 (total number of compared terms) is 25%.
3. Content words denoting non-geographical objects and concepts. Similarity in meaning and derivation is required here for words to be called similar across languages. This is a rather subjective criterion based on semantics and etymology. Spelling is not at issue here.

As was the case for modifications discussed above, there was also variation between individual map text words as regards their transparency. The scores expressed in DM-values varied between 0 and 100% across languages.

For **type 1**, proper names of carto-bibliographic sources, we found a fairly high average DM across languages and map texts of about 60%. This mainly turned out to be the result of the usage of what we called 'exonames' (*Johannes, Jan, Jean, João, Giovanni* etc.) which received a treatment similar to 'exonyms' which are translated place names (see type 2). Proper names, especially first names, have consistently been translated across languages, resulting in reduced transparency.

For **type 2**, geographical concepts and expressions, we found that place names have consistently been translated into 'exonyms' which reduce transparency across languages. For geographical concepts, we found that there are subgroupings of two or more types depending on the derivation or etymology of the concepts at issue. Thus, for the concept 'East' we find 'Oriens, l'Orient, East, Oost' which are clearly related and form $4/7$ of the available data; we also find Levant, Levante and Auffgang which are partly related and form $3/7$ of the available data. Transparency across 7 languages is therefore $4/7$ or 57% on the basis of the 'East' word family, and $3/7$ or 43% for the two related 'Levant' words and the single less related 'Aufgang' word, leading to a Difference Measure of 43%. Next to these, familiar place names were translated as exonyms, reducing transparency. Unfamiliar place names usually retained their shape across languages. Overall DM for this type was about 40%.

Type 3, content words showed an average DM of about 50%. Here we noticed a familiar translation problem: a literal translation may be wrong when the concept to be translated receives

different cultural or political acceptance, depending on the language into which the translation is made. Latin 'bigamus' has been translated into German 'dass einer zwei weiber nemme', Spanish 'Segundo casamiento', Italian 'rimaritarsi', English 'bigamy', Dutch 'anderwerf trouwet', and French 'remarier'.

The Spanish, Italian, Dutch and French translation strongly suggest a consecutive action, best translated into modern English as 'remarry'. The Latin and German strongly suggest a parallel action, which is also the connotation of the modern word 'bigamy': to have two wives, or two husbands. In cases like this, it is impossible to translate form as well as function correctly. Another example: Latin 'nobiles' has been translated into Dutch as 'rijcke luyden' since the Low Countries were effectively rather than formally a republic at the time, without a king and retinue, but the importance of the Dutch 'rich people' came close to that of the nobility in surrounding kingdoms.

Other non-transparent or opaque translations concern concepts which were unfamiliar or absent in the target language like 'coal', and specific sorts of fishes, birds, plants, stones etc. On the whole we may conclude that the various translators were fairly capable in the performance of their task, but were hindered by the custom prevailing at the time of using exonyms and 'exonames'.

What does this mean in terms of innovations brought about by the texts analysed? The numerous exonyms and 'exonames' found in the various languages in which *on verso* texts occur reflect the habit prevalent at this time to translate topographical names and personal names. This is no novelty.

The finding that certain concepts are not translated literally, but rather functionally, points to the fact that Ortelius was aware of cultural, political and social difference between countries with different languages, which is fairly visionary for his time. Translation theory has only relatively recently come to grips with this phenomenon, and the fact that after 50 years of attempts at mechanical translation, results are still poor is precisely due to that fact that natural language is often ambiguous in cultural, social, political and even everyday respects. The fact that Ortelius was apparently aware of this phenomenon and took heed of this in the way translations from one language to another were made may indeed classify as an innovation.

Chapter 6 deals with the bibliographical sources which Ortelius mentions in the ten texts *on verso* which were examined. Ortelius was the first geographer if not the first scholar to mention the sources for his texts, and he more or less remained the only cartographer to do so until texts disappeared from the *versos* of maps by the end of the 17th century. It turned out that in our sample of *on verso* texts of 10 maps the number of classical sources quoted is 51, quoted 121 times, the number of medieval sources quoted is 10, quoted 14 times and the number of renaissance authors is 82, quoted 144 times. The average number of quotes for classical authors is 2.37, for renaissance authors 1.65 and for medieval authors 1.4. This reflects the evaluative remarks made by Ortelius about these three types of sources. His appreciation for classical authors is greatest, for renaissance authors (especially if the author describes his own native country) it is average, and for medieval authors Ortelius' appreciation in terms of trustworthiness is lowest.

As far as accuracy of quotations and references is concerned, in need of data, we have taken all references to Ortelius' most quoted author, viz. Plinius the Elder. We did not restrict ourselves to the ten sample maps discussed in this study, but took all references from the entire *on verso* text corpus of all 226 maps contained in the *Theatrum*. We have not examined all 433 quotes

which refer to Plinius without mentioning Book and Chapter where the reference can be found. We have restricted ourselves to the 135 references where the Book and Chapter numbers are specifically mentioned on the *on verso* text.

Results show that 16 references could not be confirmed, which does not mean that they do not occur in Plinius, but that we were unable to find them. 51 references mentioning Books were referred to correctly, 9 references to Books were referred to incorrectly. Two Chapters in the references were referred to correctly, but 57 Chapters were referred to incorrectly. The Plinius edition of the Loeb classical library was taken as the standard in this procedure. The high discrepancy between correctly assigned Books versus correctly assigned Chapters can only be explained by concluding that the edition of Plinius used by Ortelius deviates from the Loeb version as regards Chapters, but not as regards Books.

Ortelius is the first cartographer, if not the first scholar of the 16th century attempting to give complete cartographical and bibliographical information about his sources. For his cartographical sources, this is not surprising, taking into account the findings reported in Meurer (1991) and Karrow (1993). The *on verso* map texts have demonstrated that Ortelius' bibliographical sources comprise about 1300 authors and about 2000 books. We have not (yet) attempted to prove that Ortelius owned all these books, but consider it very likely. This would represent an impressive reference library by all standards, and probably unmatched as a library in private possession in the 16th century. Ortelius did not just possess large holdings of maps and coins, but perhaps an even more impressive library of books.

Chapter 7 discusses the influence which Ortelius' *on verso* texts had on subsequent cartographers, using de Jode, Bouguereau, Mercator/Hondius/Janssonius and the Blaeu family for comparison. Unsurprisingly, we see no influence at all from Ortelius' *on verso* texts on de Jode's *on verso* text. Comparing Ortelius texts to those of Bouguereau, we find a few similarities but mostly differences, particularly in the mentioning of bibliographical sources and the number of references, which is invariably much higher in Ortelius' *on verso* texts. Comparison with Mercator's 1595 atlas shows that Mercator did not write any texts resembling those written by Ortelius, because he had different aims, restricting himself to lists with geographical coordinates, feudal lineages, political borders, local jurisdiction etc. The only similarities found concern maps based on a common source (e.g. Münster's Salzburg). It is in the Hondius *on verso* texts and those by his successor Janssonius that we find clear correspondences with Ortelius' texts. This is particularly the case when we compare the *on verso* texts in Ortelius' *Parergon* maps with those of Hondius' and Janssonius' historical maps, where many 'loans' can be found, as is also the case with the maps themselves. The closest match of Ortelius' *on verso* texts was found when comparing his Low Countries texts with those on the 1608 Blaeu wall map of the Low Countries. Numerous paragraphs of text written by Ortelius for Brabant and Namur could be retrieved more or less *verbatim* on the Blaeu map. The ancient coins which Ortelius presents in his Ancient France map (Ort194) were closely copied in Blaeu's 1635 *Theatrum*. After this time, similarities start to disappear, and by the end of the 17th century Dutch cartographers had ceased to write *on verso* texts altogether.

Ortelius' profuse supply of bibliographical sources in his scholarly texts is a unique feature not occurring in any of his mapmaking successors to the same extent, or at all. His personal

experiences as related in his vernacular text version have not established any tradition over the century that atlas maps had *on verso* texts, and are his own unique innovation, possibly inspired by his extensive travelling throughout western and central Europe and his passionate love of history.

The ultimate summary of this study may consist of one of the most frequently occurring quotes from Ortelius' *on verso* texts as noted above:

I did what I could, not what I wanted to. (e.g. § 22.12, 23.15, 151.4, 222.5).



Summary

The reason why the texts *on verso* of the atlas maps written by one of the best studied cartographers, viz. Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) of Antwerp in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of which the first edition appeared in 1570 have never been studied in the course of 450 years will probably remain an enigma. The research presented here tries to demonstrate that these texts contain many innovations in 16th century historical cartography.

For this purpose, a sample of *on verso* texts as occurring on ten atlas maps from Ortelius' *Theatrum* atlas has been examined and translated into modern English. In the course of making these translations, it became clear that these texts are a much more accurate method to date loose maps than by referring to the states of maps whose *versos* they adorn. It also became apparent that these texts belong to two types: scholarly texts which were written for the Latin atlas editions and for the Spanish, post-1573 German, Italian and English editions translated from Latin. Next to these texts, Ortelius also wrote popular or vernacular texts for all the Dutch, the 1572/1573 German and all the French atlas editions. These two types of texts were tuned to the audience for which they were intended: the Latin *on verso* texts and their derivatives aimed at an academic renaissance public that knew its classics. The popular or vernacular texts aimed at non-academics such as affluent merchants and civil servants. These atlases were among the most expensive but also among the most popular books of the 16th century.

The texts which occur on some of the maps themselves never refer to the text *on verso* but the *on verso* texts refer continually to information on the map itself.

The scholarly texts increased in size and information content with every new edition until Ortelius' decease in 1598, while the vernacular texts hardly changed at all. The translations are well intended efforts to represent texts of the source language in the target language, but there are impediments: place names and personal names, particularly first names, were at the time translated as exonyms (*Milan* instead of *Milano*) and 'exonames' (*Johannes, Jean, Jan, John, Giovanni* etc.), which does not benefit transparency between languages. Ortelius was well aware of this disadvantage and *on verso* of his Low Countries map he provides a lengthy list of place names in as many as six different languages to prevent confusion. Moreover, differences between different language areas of a cultural, social or political nature often require a translation that is true to function, rather than to form.

An inventory of all bibliographical sources mentioned by Ortelius in his *on verso* texts together constitute a part of Ortelius' large personal library.

This inventory shows that Ortelius had greatest confidence in his classical authors, less confidence in his contemporaries, and least confidence in medieval authors in terms of their reliability and credibility.

The influence exerted by Ortelius' *on verso* on his successors is diverse. For some cartographers, including his good friend Mercator, there was no influence at all. But other cartographers such as Hondius, Janssonius and the Blaeu family, correspondences are clearly evident, and sometimes entire paragraphs have been copied *verbatim*, (as were some of his maps).

The conclusion of this study is that texts *on verso* of Ortelius' atlas maps are of an innovative nature, and have been ignored for a long time without good reasons, for they present a vivid picture how Ortelius, a self-made encyclopaedic Renaissance scholar, experienced the world he lived in. Finally, Ortelius was also the first to popularise academic knowledge by fine-tuning his texts to the interests and mental grasp of his prospective readers.

Samenvatting

Kenmerken en ontwikkeling van een steekproef van *on verso* kaartteksten

Waarom de teksten op de achterzijde van de atlaskaarten, geschreven door een van de best onderzochte kartografen, namelijk Abraham Ortelius in zijn *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* waarvan de eerste editie verscheen in 1570 na 450 jaar nog nooit zijn onderzocht zal wel een onderwerp van speculatie blijven. Deze studie poogt aan te tonen dat deze teksten vele innovaties bevatten. Voor dat doel zijn als steekproef van tien van de atlaskaarten van Ortelius' *Theatrum* de teksten op de achterzijde onderzocht en naar het modern Engels vertaald. Daarbij bleek dat deze teksten een veel nauwkeuriger middel zijn om losse kaarten te dateren dan de staten van de kaart op de voorkant. Tevens bleek dat de teksten in twee soorten uiteenvallen: wetenschappelijke teksten die werden geschreven voor de Latijnse atlas edities en de daarvan afgeleide Spaanse, post-1573 Duitse, Italiaanse en Engelse edities. Daarnaast schreef Ortelius populaire of volkstaal-teksten voor de Nederlandse, Franse en de 1572/1573 Duitse edities van zijn atlas. Deze twee soorten teksten waren afgestemd op de beoogde doelgroep: de Latijnse teksten en derivaten richtten zich op een academisch renaissance publiek dat zijn klassieken kende. De populaire teksten in het Nederlands, Frans en vroeg-Duits richtten zich op niet-academici zoals welvarende kooplieden en ambtenaren. Deze atlassen behoren tot de duurste en tevens de best verkochte boeken van de 16^e eeuw.

De teksten zoals die op de voorkant van sommige kaarten zijn opgenomen verwijzen nooit naar de teksten op de achterkant, maar omgekeerd verwijzen de achterkant-teksten voortdurend naar informatie op de kaart zelf.

De wetenschappelijke teksten groeiden bij elke nieuwe editie in omvang en informatief gehalte tot Ortelius' dood in 1598. De populaire teksten veranderden niet of nauwelijks van vorm. De vertalingen zijn welgemeende pogingen de inhoud van teksten adequaat in de doeltaal weer te geven, maar ontmoeten hindernissen op weg naar dit doel: plaatsnamen en persoonsnamen blijken per taal te verschillen als *exoniemen* (*Parijs* i.p.v. *Paris*) en 'exonamen' hetgeen de transparantie tussen de teksten in verschillende talen niet ten goede komt. Ortelius was zich van dit nadeel bewust en geeft daarom in de tekst op de achterkant van de Lage Landen-kaart een uitvoerige lijst van plaatsnamen in soms wel zes verschillende talen. Zo kon verwarring tussen deze plaatsnamen in verschillende talen worden voorkomen. Daarnaast maken culturele, sociale en politieke verschillen per taalgebied het vaak noodzakelijk om niet naar vorm maar naar functie te vertalen.

De inventaris van alle bibliografische bronnen die Ortelius in zijn complete *on verso* teksten noemt vormen tesamen hoogstwaarschijnlijk een omvangrijk onderdeel van zijn nog omvangrijkere bibliotheek. Ze laten zien dat Ortelius het meeste vertrouwen had in de klassieke auteurs, iets minder in zijn tijdgenoten en het minst in middeleeuwse auteurs wat betreft hun betrouwbaarheid en geloofwaardigheid.

De invloed die Ortelius' teksten op latere kartografen heeft gehad is divers. Bij sommige kartografen is geen enkele invloed te vinden, zoals het geval is bij Ortelius' goede vriend Mercator, maar bij andere kartografen zoals Hondius, Janssonius en Blaeu zijn duidelijke overeenkomsten aan te treffen, en zijn soms hele paragrafen *verbatim* van Ortelius overgenomen (evenals sommige van zijn kaarten).

De conclusie van dit onderzoek is dat de teksten op de achterzijde van Ortelius' atlaskaarten ten onrechte lang verwaarloosd zijn; ze geven namelijk een innovatief beeld hoe Ortelius als autodidact en encyclopedist zijn wereld zag. Ortelius was ook een pionier *avant la lettre* op het gebied van wetenschapsvoorlichting door zijn teksten af te stemmen op de interesse en het bevattingsvermogen van zijn beoogde gebruikers.

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Appendix 1 Digital images of all maps and texts referred to in Chapter 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5

In sleeve inside back cover.

Curriculum Vitae

Marcel van den Broecke was born on May 25, 1942. He went to Grammar school in Amsterdam and studied chemistry at Brandeis University, Mass. USA in 1960-1961. Back in the Netherlands he studied English language, general linguistics and phonetics and received an MA at Amsterdam Municipal University in 1967. After teaching English at secondary schools for a year he joined the English Institute of the University Utrecht where he taught Modern English and phonetics, and obtained a Ph.D. in phonetics in 1976, after which he spent a post-doc year at UCLA, California, USA. He was editor in chief of Journal of Phonetics, Academic Press, for five years. In 1988 he became director at the Institute for Public Understanding of Science in Utrecht. In 1995 he was appointed director of the Dutch Humanist League. In 1997 he headed the International Statistical Institute in Voorburg. In 2003 he decided to devote himself full time to what started in 1981 as a hobby, viz. the atlas maps made by Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) about which he has published about 30 articles and two books.

Stellingen

1. De teksten op de achterkant van Ortelius' atlaskaarten verwijzen naar informatie op de kaarten, maar de teksten op de kaarten zelf verwijzen niet naar de teksten op de achterkant. Dit steunt Van der Krogt (1998) waarin hij beargumenteert dat Ortelius' *Theatrum* de eerste moderne atlas is.
2. De teksten op de achterkant van Ortelius' atlaskaarten die voor elke editie en soms binnen eenzelfde editie opnieuw gezet werden, zijn een ideaal hulpmiddel om losse kaarten die ooit in een atlas zaten exact te dateren.
3. Ortelius was een religieuze renaissance-humanist bij uitstek die zichzelf meer beschouwde als geschiedkundig encyclopedist dan als geograaf. Hij zag het als zijn levensdoel het heilige en profane verleden, waar zijn eigen heden de meest actuele vorm van was, met behulp van kaarten aanschouwelijk, inzichtelijk en onthoudbaar te maken.
4. Een facsimile van alle atlaskaarten van Ortelius (226 stuks) zou wetenschappelijk waardevoller zijn dan een nieuwe facsimile van een specifieke editie naast de zes reeds bestaande facsimiles van *Theatrum* edities, die trouwens alle zes tekortkomingen vertonen.
5. Ortelius onderkende reeds aan het einde van de 16^e eeuw de wetenschappelijke noodzaak van een internationaal stelsel van maten waaraan pas twee eeuwen later door Napoleon invulling werd gegeven met het metrische stelsel.
6. Het feit dat Ortelius op de achterkant van zijn atlaskaarten twee verschillende soorten teksten schreef voor twee verschillende soorten lezers maakt hem tot wetenschapspopularisator *avant la lettre*.
7. Getallen die in wetenschappelijke teksten (inclusief dit proefschrift) worden gepresenteerd, suggereren vaak een statistische exactheid die alleen gerechtvaardigd is wanneer criteria die aan deze cijfers ten grondslag liggen dat wettigen.
8. In tegenstelling tot het humanisme in de tijd van Ortelius wijst het hedendaagse Nederlandse humanisme geloof af als bijgeloof, maar gebruikt daarbij wel argumenten die aan een religieuze context lijken te zijn ontleend zoals 'zuiverheid in de leer'.
9. Hoewel in de omvangrijke literatuur over J.S. Bach algemeen erkend wordt dat hij een redelijk bekwaam violist en altviolist was, suggereren de vingerzettingen die in het manuscript van Bach zelf van zijn zes sonates en partitas voor solo viool zijn aangegeven en die in zijn klavecimbel- en orgelcomposities niet voorkomen, dat hij minder bekwaam was op de viool dan op klavecimbel en orgel, maar deze moeilijk speelbare vioolmuziek toch wel degelijk zelf kon spelen, (Ms. Bach P967. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; Partita 3 voor solo-viool, derde deel, maat 34).
10. De muziek die J.S. Bach componeerde is zo expressief dat ze in elke instrumentatie tot haar recht komt. Dat Bach zich hiervan bewust was blijkt uit de vele composities waarin hij zijn eigen muziek van nieuwe instrumentatie en toonzetting voorzag.

11. In de controverse welke bijdrage 'nature' en welke bijdrage 'nurture' levert aan de geestelijke ontwikkeling van de mens bewijst de populariteit van de Nederlandse monarchie dat 'nurture' niet onderschat moet worden.
12. De bijdrage van de prosodie aan de betekenis van spreektaal wordt doorgaans onderschat; vrij vertaald: c'est le ton qui fait la musique, ofwel: het doet er minder toe wat er gezegd wordt alswel hoe dat gezegd wordt.
13. De genen die de mens in de oertijd hebben helpen overleven zorgen nu voor overgewicht.
14. Voor de verstaanbaarheid van het Engels als tweede taal verdient het aanbeveling een 'mid-Atlantic' accent als uitspraakmodel te hanteren.
15. Fundamentalistische belijders van gangbare monotheïstische godsdiensten beschouwen de man als een willoos slachtoffer van zijn aangeboren lust voor de vrouw zodat hij het recht heeft zich met repressieve maatregelen tegen diezelfde vrouw te beschermen.

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